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# Southeast Asia Report

No. 1257

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 11, November 1982

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24 February 1983

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

No. 1257

TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 11, November 1982

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## L.I. BREZHNEV PASSES AWAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 p I

[Notice from the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party and the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam]

[Text] It is with deep sadness that the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party and the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam report to the party and the people of Vietnam:

L.I. Brezhnev, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, passed away at 0830 hours on 10 November 1982 in Moscow.

L.I. Brezhnev was the loyal inheritor of the great undertaking of V.I. Lenin, an outstanding activist of the international communist and worker movement, a soldier who struggled tirelessly for peace, for the victory of socialism and communism and a great friend of the people of Vietnam.

The passing of L.I. Brezhnev is a tremendous loss, not only to the communist party and people of the Soviet Union, but to our entire party and all our people and to all progressive mankind as well.

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CSO: 4210/4

EULOGY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY, THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE VIETNAM SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM FATHERLAND FRONT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp I-IV

[Text] Dear Comrades and Compatriots,

The revered L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and the person who carried on the great undertaking of V.I. Lenin in an outstanding manner, is no longer with us!

The passing of L.I. Brezhnev is a very large loss to the communist party and people of the Soviet Union as well as to the Vietnam Communist Party and the people of Vietnam, to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the people of the world.

The CPSU, the Soviet state and the people of the Soviet Union have lost a great leader; the international communist and worker movement, the national liberation movement and the people of the world have lost an outstanding political activist, a soldier who struggled tirelessly for peace and international cooperation; and the Vietnam Communist Party and the people of Vietnam have lost a comrade, a great friend, a friend who was respected and loved and who will be missed by all of us.

Over the past 60 years, from the time he was a teenager until the moment that he departed from us forever, L.I. Brezhnev lived a glorious, active life, one that was closely linked to the comprehensive development, to the growth and power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

For nearly 20 consecutive years, as general secretary of the Party Central Committee and leader of the Soviet state, L.I. Brezhnev and the militant command staff of the communists of the Soviet Union led the Soviet people in successfully building a developed socialist society, clearing the way for the advance to communism and ushering in the era of man's conquering of space, thereby making the Soviet Union the most powerful country in the world, the firm citadel of peace and world revolution.

From his position as leader, L.I. Brezhnev constantly concerned himself with improving the material and cultural lives of the Soviet people, insuring the harmonious development of the fraternal nationalities within the union and

increasing the strength of the Soviet Union in every respect. The new Constitution of the Soviet Union, which is closely associated with the name L.I. Brezhnev and is the most progressive constitution in the history of man, is having a beautiful effect in the political, economic and social lives of the Soviet people, thereby opening the way for the advance to communism.

Together with the other leaders of the CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev creatively applied and enhanced Marxist-Leninist theory, successfully resolving many new problems of scientific socialism.

A great patriot and outstanding international warrior, L.I. Brezhnev constantly brandished the banner of proletarian internationalism and struggled wholeheartedly to strengthen the fraternal friendship, the solidarity and the close cooperation among the countries within the socialist community, thereby making a tremendous contribution to strengthening the position and increasing the strength of the international communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement of our times.

Under the leadership of L.I. Brezhnev, the CPSU set forth and adopted a peace platform at its 24th Congress and developed upon this platform at its 25th and 26th Congresses. This platform has been and is inspiring all peoples to wage an increasingly intense struggle against the arms race and the creation of international tensions with a view toward maintaining an atmosphere of detente and international cooperation, maintaining peace throughout the world.

The entirety of the very rich and glorious active life of L.I. Brezhnev was an unparalleled example of wholehearted devotion to the party, to the people, to the ideals of socialism and communism.

Dear Comrades and Compatriots,

Throughout the past several decades, L.I. Brezhnev, a very close friend of the Vietnamese, constantly concerned himself with strengthening the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam and wholeheartedly supported and assisted the revolutionary undertaking of our people during the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation as well as in the present work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland. Our party and state awarded to him the highest honors of our country: the Gold Star Medal, the Ho Chi Minh Medal and the title Labor Hero of Vietnam.

We will always remember the following words, words filled with revolutionary feeling, spoken by L.I. Brezhnev: "To the communists of the Soviet Union and all the people of the Soviet Union, uniting with Vietnam is always a mandate of the heart and mind."

Feeling gratitude toward L.I. Brezhnev and mourning his passing, our entire party and all our people, in keeping with the teaching of the revered President Ho Chi Minh, promise to do their very best to strengthen the great friendship and the revolutionary solidarity between Vietnam and the Soviet Union so that they remain strong for generations to come, considering this to be both our obligation and a matter of conscience.

We are deeply confident that, in response to the appeal by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, the communists and all the people of the Soviet Union, uniting closely around the Central Committee of the CPSU, led by the revered Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, the worthy inheritor of the glorious undertaking of L.I. Brezhnev, will successfully implement the resolution of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and complete the plans for building the material-technical bases of communism for the sake of the happiness of the Soviet people and the prosperity of the Soviet country, thereby making increasingly large contributions to world peace and revolution.

Dear Comrades and Compatriots,

Deeply saddened, our entire party and all our people bid a respectful farewell to L.I. Brezhnev. His name and his works will live forever in the hearts of the communists and people of Vietnam. At this moment, the people of Vietnam convey the most beautiful of feelings to Moscow, to the glorious Soviet Union, the country of the great October Revolution, the homeland of the great Lenin, the place that has brought to life the long-held dream of man: communism, "the spring of mankind."

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BUILDING HO CHI MINH CITY INTO A PROSPEROUS AND BEAUTIFUL SOCIALIST CITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 1-8

[Editorial]

[Text] In the Vietnamese people's work of building socialism and protecting the fatherland, Ho Chi Minh City occupies an important position and has a weighty responsibility.

Ho Chi Minh City is a major economic center, a center of international trade and tourism of our country. Politically, it is second in importance behind the capital Hanoi. The laboring people of the city possess ardent patriotism, possess a staunch revolutionary tradition and are, at the same time, very dynamic and rich in creativity in their production and their businesses. As regards national defense, the city occupies an important position within the great rear area of our country and of all Indochina.

Deserving of attention is the fact that Ho Chi Minh City has especially favorable, objective economic conditions for developing industry, export activities, tourism and international services and for joining the provinces of Nam Bo in establishing an industrial-agricultural economic structure at an early date, one that closely coordinates the domestic economy with the overseas economy, thereby making an important contribution to the overall economic development of our country. These favorable conditions are: the city possesses rather highly developed industrial production capacity, especially within the consumer goods industry; there is a wide diversity of handicraft trades; the corps of manual workers and handcraftsmen is highly skilled; the scientific-technical force is large and talented; and the infrastructure supporting the development of industry, exportation and tourism has already been established. The city is a major air, land and sea communications center, can conveniently trade with the provinces of Nam Bo, southern Trung Bo and the southern Central Highlands and occupies a very favorable position and enjoys very favorable circumstances for international trade, primarily with the countries of Indochina and Southeast Asia. In addition, the economy of the city is closely linked to a prosperous agricultural, forestry and fishing region that has a developed system of commodity production and large capabilities in its labor and arable land, thereby providing the city with a rather abundant supply of grain, food products, agricultural products, raw materials, etc.

However, Ho Chi Minh City faces very large political and economic difficulties and complications.

In the past, the city was the political and military nerve center of the Americans and the puppets, was a consumer city known for its extravagance and decadence within the U.S. neo-colonialist system. The industrial production and the market of the city were totally dependent upon the raw materials, spare parts and goods of the western capitalist countries. Certain strata of the city's population were heavily influenced by the imperialists, feudalists and bourgeoisie and do not clearly understand the need to follow the course of socialism. More than 220,000 persons are unemployed. The city's relations with foreign countries, with Kampuchea and Thailand, with the international ocean waters are very complex. In particular, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, bitter over the painful, disgraceful defeats that they have suffered in war, are closely collaborating with each other and have made Ho Chi Minh City the focal point in their multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country in the hope of using the city as a base for disrupting the market and the economy of our country, shaking our system, corrupting our cadres and party members, sowing internal division, dividing the party from the people, dividing the South from the North, dividing the local level from the central level, dividing Vietnam from Laos and Kampuchea and dividing Vietnam from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in a vain attempt to foment insurrection and bring down the revolutionary government.

It is amidst complex circumstances and amidst a situation in which the country's economy is encountering many difficulties, the central level cannot fully meet the varied needs of the city and the city's corps of party, government and mass organization cadres still has many unanswered questions, lacks knowledge of economics and culture and lacks experience in managing a large, complex city that the Ho Chi Minh City Party organization is trying to reorient the entire life of a large city, a city that was once a counter-revolutionary center of the old system, to the new, socialist system.

Over the past 7 years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the government, the party organization, government and people of Ho Chi Minh City have waged a vigorous struggle, constantly moved forward, worked while learning, gradually matured and begun to transform and build the city, changing it from a consumer city to a producing city, from an economy that supported a war and was totally dependent upon foreign countries to an independent economy that supports the welfare of the people and is developing toward socialism.

Since 1980, in keeping with the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, resolution 26 of the Political Bureau and the various decisions by the government, the city has tried to move forward and overcome its difficulties and has developed suitable production and management measures and forms of organization that have yielded important and encouraging results: Ho Chi Minh City has maintained its industrial production and, in particular, developed its small industry and handicraft trades at a rapid rate;

created jobs for tens of thousands of laborers and begun to stabilize the standard of living of the manual workers, civil servants and people of the city; and taken the initiative in looking for ways to increase the rate of the locality's exports and imports while actively supporting production and everyday life. Within the city, a number of models of social management and economic management have emerged, models that can provide experiences that are useful in the effort to research and improve the overall economic management of the country.

Generally speaking, the city has maintained its dynamism, sensitivity and concern for efficiency in its production and business activities. These are positive, very valuable factors that must be developed upon.

Besides economic achievements, the city has maintained political security and social order and safety amidst a rather complex situation. It made a noteworthy contribution to the war to protect the fatherland on the southwestern border of our country. It has recorded good achievements in education, cultural activities, literature, art, public health and physical culture-sports and gradually overcome social ills. It has built and strengthened the party organizations, government organizations and mass organizations and has launched rather strong mass movements in a number of fields of activity during each period of time.

The above mentioned achievements reflect the sense of responsibility and the spirit of initiative of the city party committee and the entire party organization as regards the revolutionary undertaking within the city and throughout the country and prove that the people of Ho Chi Minh City today are confident and are moving steadily forward under the leadership of the party in socialist transformation and socialist construction. Together with the effort made by the city itself, the achievements mentioned above have also been the result of one very important factor: the guidance provided by the central level and the active assistance and increasingly improved cooperation with Ho Chi Minh City on the part of the sectors, provinces and other municipalities of the country.

Besides achievements, which are fundamental, the leadership of the city party organization also has shortcomings:

--It does not have a truly clear understanding of the socialist revolution or of the period of transition to socialism. It is not clearly aware of the sharp nature of the struggle between socialism and capitalism or how this struggle is closely linked to the struggle against the multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. The vigilance against the acts of sabotage of the enemy is inadequate at a time when the imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the other hostile powers are looking for every way to sabotage us in a very intense manner, especially on the economic and ideological fronts.

--The dictatorship of the proletariat has been relaxed somewhat on the front of distribution and circulation, which is the front of most intense activity in the struggle between ourselves and the bourgeoisie in commerce as well as the other opposition powers, between socialism and the capitalist spontaneity of small-scale producers and small merchants. The market is not being tightly controlled or managed and there is a lack of true resolve to punish profiteers and smugglers; light attention is being given to the struggle against the tendencies to pursue profit, compete for purchases, compete in sales and push prices upward with a view toward gradually stabilizing and pulling down prices.

Although production has increased, the state still controls very few sources of small industrial goods, handicraft goods and agricultural products and controls even less money and prices fluctuate excessively. Because there are still shortcomings in our organization of distribution and circulation and because the mode of distribution is inefficient, even some of the goods that are supposed to be controlled by the state find their way into the hands of private merchants and are put on the retail market. The income of laborers who earn their livings in a legitimate manner is not being regulated in a reasonable manner.

--The socialist transformation of commerce, small industry, the handicraft trades and agriculture is not being carried out in a positive, appropriate manner. Within Ho Chi Minh City at this time, agricultural production cooperatives and collectives only account for slightly more than 18 percent of the land being farmed in the outskirts of the city; the socialist economy only accounts for about 30 percent of commerce; the various forms of transformation of the bourgeoisie in commerce and industry, artisans and handicraftsmen are not yielding the desired results. The bourgeoisie in commerce, the majority of whom are bourgeoisie of Chinese ancestry, still have rather close ties to farmers, handicraftsmen and artisans.

--Progress has been made in industrial, small industrial and handicraft production but much production capacity is still not being used well and there is still much waste. Industry has not been closely linked to agriculture and, in some respects, light attention is being given to agriculture. Production within the state-operated sector within the city (which includes both the central level and the local level) has developed slowly; at some state-operated installations, production has declined due to the shortage of raw materials and spare parts.

--The work of teaching politics, heightening the socialist awareness and cultivating the will to fight and the revolutionary qualities of the cadres, party members and people of the city has not been given appropriate attention nor been closely guided. The inspection and supervision of the thinking and the actions of cadres and party members have not been constant or strict. Some cadres, party members and personnel of the state have become corrupt, have degenerated and conspired with private merchants and thieves, thereby exerting an adverse influence among the people.

Many specific aspects of the shortcomings mentioned above are the responsibility of the central level and of the ministries, departments and sectors on the central level. Of the shortcomings of the central agencies, the most deserving of attention are the slowness with which they have changed the economic management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization, the rigidity with which they implement the policies and programs of the party and state, the slowness with which they concretize these policies and programs and their failure to promptly guide and closely inspect compliance with the resolutions and directives of the central committee and government.

The matter of foremost importance in steadily advancing to socialism is for the party organization of Ho Chi Minh City to deeply understand and insure that all the people of the city thoroughly comprehend and correctly implement the party's line on the socialist revolution, the two strategic tasks of our country in the period of transition, the four socio-economic objectives in the initial stage of the period of transition, the policy of the party concerning the different segments of the economy in the period of transition, especially during the initial stage of this period, etc.

The party's line on the socialist revolution is the general line that has been established for the entire period of transition to socialism, which is a period of arduous, decisive class struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism, is the period of the most thorough and profound revolutionary change in all areas of society. In this very complex period of the revolution, a communist party organization can only act correctly and have a significant impact upon the revolutionary undertaking of the class and the nation when it firmly adheres to the line of the party, knows how to creatively apply this line to the specific conditions of its locality, possesses strict discipline and knows how to tightly organize, closely guide and convince all the masses to join it in advancing to socialism.

Without having a firm grasp of the party's general line on the revolution, it is impossible to talk about creatively applying this line. Facts have proven that, even in Ho Chi Minh City, the good model units in production, business or the other fields are the embodiment of the creative application of the party's line. And, without having a firm grasp of the line of the party, it is impossible to avoid mistakes and deviations and these mistakes and deviations sometimes occur even within units that are good units but do not have a full or complete grasp of the fundamentals of the general party line.

For this reason, it is necessary to have a truly firm grasp of the general line of the party. This also means understanding the key points regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a dictatorship of a class nature exercised by the revolutionary working class and which embodies the right of collective ownership of the laboring people led by the party. The impact of the socialist state lies in the management it provides, which is management that complies with the line of the party and serves the basic interests of the laboring people. However, in order for this management to truly be effective,

the socialist state must very strictly uphold the Constitution and the law, must insure that the sense of organization and discipline of the working class, which is one of the fundamental attributes of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is thoroughly maintained throughout society so that all the people voluntarily and fully comply with each position and policy of the party and state.

Together with having a full understanding of the general line of the party, and the two strategic tasks and four socio-economic objectives in the initial stage of the period of transition, the party organization of Ho Chi Minh City must also have a truly firm grasp of our party's policy regarding the various segments of the economy. This policy is: giving full attention to building, strengthening and developing the state-operated economy and the cooperative economy and improving their quality in every respect; carrying out the socialist transformation of the private economy of farmers, handcraftsmen and small merchants by means of suitable forms of organization and utilizing their production capabilities but regularly educating them, criticizing and struggling to overcome their negative aspects and using those small merchants that are needed for circulation while gradually shifting the other small merchants to production and the services; only using the joint public-private form of organization within production and within necessary sectors in order to utilize the business capital and experience of the bourgeoisie and provide them with a satisfactory profit; and only allowing the private, capitalist economy to exist within a number of production sectors while requiring that capitalists operate in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan, obey the laws of the state and submit to management by the state.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in commerce will not be permitted to remain in business. As regards those bourgeoisie in commerce who are active in a number of fields in which the state still permits private individuals to operate businesses, we must transform them by means of the various forms of state capitalism but must examine each individual case and must always be vigilant and guard against their negative activities.

It must be deeply understood that the purpose of our party's policy of using the five-segment economic structure (the existence of five segments of the economy in the initial stage of the period of transition is an inevitability) is to accelerate socialist transformation and socialist construction. In the course of the socialist revolution, the five-segment economy will, under the leadership of our party and state, gradually become the socialist economy and blend as one with the state-operated and collective segments of the economy; within a number of sectors and trades within small industry, the handicraft trades and the services, private production will continue to exist for a long time and will play the role of assisting the socialist economy. This is something that we will achieve when the period of transition to socialism is concluded.

At present, with a view toward achieving the comprehensive goals of socialism, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has the general tasks of launching the

revolutionary movement of the masses, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people of the city, carrying out the three revolutions and closely coordinating transformation with construction, construction with transformation for the purpose of successfully completing socialist transformation in this initial stage and establishing increasingly strong socialist production relations and new production forces.

--On the basis of developing the existing capabilities and the potentials of the city and raising labor productivity, it is necessary to strongly develop production, coordinate industry with agriculture and produce an increasingly large output of products of high quality to serve the needs of the city and the entire country. We must stimulate the formation, at an early date, of an industrial-agricultural economic structure within the city and in former Nam Bo on the basis of the planning and plans of the state. Full attention must be given to stabilizing and gradually improving the material and cultural lives of the people of the city and the soldiers of the people's armed forces. An effort must be made to quickly meet the expanded reproduction needs of the city itself and to make a significant contribution in the accumulation of capital for the entire country.

--The socialist transformation of the industry, commerce, small industry, handicraft trades and agriculture of the city must be intensified in accordance with the policy of the party and the regulations of the state. Socialist transformation primarily involves reorganizing production and distribution along socialist lines by means of forms and methods of management that are suited to each sector and trade in order to make good use of these sectors and trades while limiting, transforming and struggling against their negative phenomena.

Efforts must be focused on expanding the network and developing the various forms of operation of socialist commerce in order to put the majority of goods within the hands of the state, especially primary products. It is necessary to improve financial and monetary activities in order to strengthen our control of money and provide increased revenues for the central and local budgets. Well coordinated use must be made of economic, educational and administrative measures in order to manage the market.

In production, an effort must be made to improve product quality and combat misappropriation, sloppiness, carelessness and the pursuit of profit while resolutely punishing persons who operate illegal businesses or manufacture fake goods. In distribution and circulation, profiteers, smugglers, thieves and persons who sabotage the market must be forthrightly punished.

--The leadership provided on the ideological and cultural front must be strengthened.

As on the economic front, the city party organization must provide very close guidance on the cultural front, be determined to thwart every act of sabotage by the enemy, wage a determined struggle to eradicate each influence of the reactionary, backward and decadent culture and gradually build the new

culture, gradually establish the civilized, wholesome, happy, socialist cultural life of the people of the city.

--Political security and social order and safety must be firmly maintained.

The cadres, party members and people of the city must be thoroughly educated in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and the sense of discipline and must wage a determined struggle against violations of the law and social ills. The armed forces protecting the city, protecting the people must be strengthened and must fully carry out their national defense and security tasks.

--The factors of decisive significance in insuring the successful performance of the political task of the city are to build a city party organization that is strong and solid politically, ideologically and organizationally, provide elementary and advanced training to cadres and accelerate the revolutionary movement of the masses.

It is first of all necessary to thoroughly teach the entire party organization about the socialist revolution so that the entire party organization achieves a high degree of unanimity concerning the party's line on the socialist revolution and concerning the period of transition to socialism and has a clear understanding of the two strategic tasks, of the complex and decisive nature of the class struggle within the city in the present stage and of the schemes and activities of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists against our country.

Lenin said: the working class is the only class that can thoroughly carry out the revolution. As the vanguard soldiers of the working class, it is even more necessary for the members of our party to embody this quality in each of their thoughts and actions. In the extremely sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism, a struggle that is closely linked to the struggle against the multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy, the cadres and party members in Ho Chi Minh City must firmly adhere to the working class stand of struggling to the end for the victory of socialism and for the protection of the fatherland. They must display a high revolutionary will to fight, display high vigilance and be absolutely loyal to the ideals of the party: building a beautiful society within the beloved fatherland, a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man, in which every laborer lives a life of equality, comfort and happiness. They must resolutely oppose bourgeois thinking, oppose every influence of colonialism, both old and new, every remnant of the feudal system and must overcome petty bourgeois thinking and every manifestation of individualism. They must uphold the revolutionary tradition, maintain a pure, wholesome and simple style of life, oppose misappropriation and bribery, respect the right of collective ownership of the people, respect the code of discipline and the law and display high revolutionary qualities to the masses.

In conjunction with teaching the fine qualities mentioned above, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization must regularly inspect and supervise the daily work and activities of cadres and party members so that they do not become involved in illegitimate methods of earning a living and illegitimate styles of

life. The city party committee and the various party echelons within the city must maintain strict party discipline and promptly expell from the party decadent, degenerate and deviant elements.

Very much importance must be attached to the elementary and advanced training of the corps of cadres of the party, the government and the mass organizations, especially economic management cadres, from the city level to the precinct, district, subward and village levels; the overall qualifications of cadres must be rapidly heightened as a firm guarantee of party leadership in every area of activity, especially in production and distribution-circulation.

It is necessary to intensify the mobilization of the masses and to launch and nurture the socialist emulation movement among the masses.

In order to establish and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, very much importance must be attached to the role played by the precinct, district, subward and village; special importance must be attached to strengthening the basic level.

It is necessary to strongly develop upon the function and role of the Trade Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union in the teaching of socialism. The important role played by the Vietnam Fatherland Front must be brought into play in strengthening the unity of each patriotic force, endorsing socialism and joining efforts to build and protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Building Ho Chi Minh City into a prosperous, beautiful and civilized socialist city is not only the responsibility of the party organization and people of the city, but also the responsibility of the entire country, of the central level because Ho Chi Minh City belongs to the entire country, to the central level.

The Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have completed the writing of the regulations on working with Ho Chi Minh City. The sectors of the central level must make every effort to contribute to the building of Ho Chi Minh City.

The sectors of the central level must quickly assign well coordinated economic and financial management responsibilities to Ho Chi Minh City. They must provide to the city an increasingly improved supply of the necessary material conditions. They must join efforts with the city to implement the plan to build and transform the city. They must guide and create the conditions for the city to develop reasonable economic cooperation with the provinces and municipalities of the entire country, beginning with the provinces of the South, and to expand its economic relations with the foreign market.

Ho Chi Minh City itself must continue to display dynamism and initiative; however, it must wholeheartedly seek the opinions of the sectors on the central level, of the provinces and other municipalities and must promptly report to and request the opinions of the central committee and the Council of Ministers before initiating a new program that is related to general policy.

We are firmly confident that, under the close leadership of the Party Central Committee and government, through the tremendous efforts of the party organization and people of Ho Chi Minh City and with the cooperation and assistance of the central sectors and the localities of the entire country, Ho Chi Minh City will surely make rapid progress in every area and become a prosperous and beautiful socialist city, thereby proving itself worthy of being the city that has the honor of bearing the name of the great Uncle Ho.

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CSO: 4210/4

## PRACTICING FRUGALITY--A MAJOR NATIONAL POLICY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 9-14

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In our country's present situation, practicing frugality has truly become a strict and pressing requirement of each sector, each level and each citizen. Practicing frugality is also a basic, long-range issue in our work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland. The tremendous difficulties faced by our country further increase the importance of practicing frugality. However, we should not think that importance need only be attached to frugality while we are encountering difficulties or are poor. Actually, the issue of practicing frugality is of much broader significance.

Today, practicing frugality is considered to be the national policy of many socialist countries, including those countries that have reached a high level of development. Practicing frugality is not only a national policy, but a requirement of our times as well. This is because practicing frugality is a law of social production. The efficiency of social production is always closely linked to the law of practicing frugality, the most basic element of which is practicing frugality in the use of live labor and embodied labor. In the final analysis, all of these types of frugality involve being frugal with regard to the use of time. Marx pointed out: "Making frugal use of time as well as distributing work time in a planned manner within the different production sectors are still the number one economic law when production is collective production."(1) In socialist society, which is a frugal society characterized by efficient production and business, the correct application of this law has more than a small influence upon the entire system of economic laws, especially the fundamental economic law of socialism, because it is closely related to raising the standard of living and satisfying the rising needs of the people.

Practicing frugality, consequently, is one of the basic elements of the socio-economic strategy of the party and state, the purpose of which is to make more efficient and effective use of each existing capability and the potentials of the country. Practicing frugality has become a task, a norm of a legal nature within the socio-economic plans of the state. The most important requirement of these plans is that they yield the highest possible economic returns for society. If we do not practice frugality, we cannot achieve the highest possible economic returns. Frugality and

economic returns go hand in hand.

Therefore, practicing frugality is a fundamental socio-economic policy, is an important measure employed by our party and state to build the economy, carry out cultural development, strengthen the national defense and security systems and support and improve the standard of living of the people. President Ho said: "We can only build socialism by increasing production and practicing frugality. Carrying out production without practicing frugality is like wind blowing through an empty house."(2) Only by practicing frugality is it possible to develop production. Therefore, practicing frugality is one of the basic principles of the science of economic management and is an expression of civilized management.

Today, being frugal is a matter of even more important significance in view of the fact that the economic struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system is a sharp, complex struggle and the fact that the world economy faces a burning contemporary problem, namely, the fact that many countries do not have enough raw materials, supplies and energy to carry out production. The search for these items has become more difficult and expensive. Even in countries that have been blessed by nature, raw materials are gradually being exhausted and the cost of mining them is rising with each passing day. It has been calculated that mankind has, in the space of the past 20 years, consumed as many raw materials and as much energy as was consumed in the entire history of mankind prior to the past 20 years and that, on this momentum, the level of consumption might increase by anywhere from several times to several dozen times in the next 20 years compared to the previous 20 years. At the recent CEMA conference, the socialist countries pointed out the need for increased cooperation for the purpose of making frugal use of fuel, raw materials and energy. Many countries have attached importance to implementing guidelines of a highly frugal nature for economic development in depth. Under these guidelines, the results of production increase at a faster rate than production costs and fewer raw materials are consumed in production but more products are produced. Here, frugality has evolved into development.

However, frugality is not only necessitated by objective requirements, it is an actual need of life as well. To us, being frugal will make a positive contribution to the effort to overcome the situation in which the state of the economy is characterized by many serious imbalances but the use of grain, energy, supplies, equipment and capital is still marked by serious waste and the people are still poor but wasteful consumption, extravagance, ostentatiousness and formalism continue to spread. Practicing frugality will make a positive contribution to putting an end to the practice of us consuming far more than we produce. Practicing frugality must become an ethical standard, a code of discipline in everyday life. Everyone must live in a manner consistent with the results of his or her labor and not consume more than is permitted by the level of production. We must meet the needs of everyday life but must know how to endure difficulties in order to maintain the independence and freedom of the fatherland and must allocate an appropriate percentage of the capital that is accumulated to carrying out expanded reproduction and building the material-technical bases of socialism.

In the proceedings of the 5th Congress of the Party, it was pointed out that we must practice "frugality in every field: capital construction,

production, everyday life, national defense and security expenditures and administrative expenditures. We must practice frugality in every area: capital, supplies, energy, raw materials, equipment, machinery, consumer goods, time and labor. We must practice frugality in consumption by society, in personal consumption, in costs incurred by the state, by the collective and by the people."(3) During the early years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, Lenin appealed for the practice of strict economy with each gram of raw materials and each hour of work time, appealed for carefully made expenditures and carefully calculated accounts. He pointed out that it was necessary to "eliminate even the smallest kinds of waste within each field of social life by practicing strict frugality." "Even the smallest savings can be used by us to develop our heavy machine industry."(4) Imbued with this spirit and in keeping with the guidelines set forth by the party, our practice of frugality at this time is both comprehensive and well coordinated. The essence of this frugality must be immediately expressed in our thinking and we must engage in scientific, detailed research for the purpose of establishing correct, practical plans within our various fields of activity. Each plan must meet the following common requirement: producing better products and producing more wealth for society using the same amount of supplies, equipment and technology or less than before. Therefore, we will not be able to practice frugality if we formulate plans that lack a scientific foundation. In the present situation, frugality must be practiced in the following important areas:

1. Practicing frugality in the consumption of grain: this is an especially important requirement in view of the fact that grain is a very urgent problem throughout our country and represents a long-term difficulty and in view of the fact that Lenin said that "grain must be used as the starting point because the root of all of our difficulties lie therein."(5) In the spirit that "a bit of paddy is a bit of gold," we must do a good job of purchasing and storing grain, must maintain the quality of grain and attach importance to rapidly reducing the percentage of loss and waste in storage and circulation while closely inspecting the distribution and use of grain. Even places that have a surplus of paddy and rice must practice full frugality in consumption and must oppose the waste of grain in all cases. We must strictly prohibit profiteering, speculation and the illegal sale of grain as well as the illegal distilling of liquor and harshly punish every act of misappropriation and theft involving grain.

2. Practicing frugality in the use of energy, supplies and raw materials: the lack or inadequate supply of these items are one of the most acute difficulties that we face at this time. Very many factories, worksites and other production installations constantly lack iron and steel, petroleum products, coal, electricity, cotton, fibers and so forth at a time when there are more than a few phenomena involving the waste of these items. Practicing frugality in this area is a very strict requirement and efforts must be focused on several efforts that have a clear impact. These are utilizing energy, supplies and raw materials for the correct purposes, utilizing them in an effective manner and in exact accordance with consumption ceilings, with special importance attached to important, valuable and rare supplies and materials, such as electric power, coal, petroleum products, metals, chemicals, wood, paper, cotton, fibers, rubber and so forth. The loss of supplies and equipment in storage and circulation must be reduced to the lowest possible level. The various types of surplus materials, discarded materials and rejected products must

be reclaimed and fully utilized. Positive steps must be taken to mobilize backlogged supplies and surplus supplies in warehouses (including within the army) for use in production and building. We must look for ways to gradually replace imported materials with domestic materials.

3. Practicing frugality in the use of foreign currency: with the meager amount of foreign currency that we have in our possession now, we are unable to provide the national economy with the items that must be imported and with the necessary loans. Therefore, practicing frugality in the use of foreign currency is a strict requirement at this time. The practice of frugality in the use of foreign currency involves re-examining the plans for imports and foreign currency loans in the immediate future and reducing the importation of those items that be replaced by domestically produced products. We must unify the management of export-import plans and the plans for loans from foreign countries, including local exports and imports, and must closely link foreign plans with export plans and the responsibility to repay debts. We must look for ways to increase foreign currency revenues and limit foreign currency expenditures.

4. Practicing frugality in capital construction: in the recent past, very large investments have been made in capital construction. However, because investments have not been made in a reasonable manner, serious waste has occurred. For this reason, an important element of the practice of frugality in this area is the need to carefully examine and establish capital construction investment programs and plans for the years ahead that are truly consistent with our capabilities, that are oriented in the proper direction and that insure returns from invested capital; the state must be determined to not make investments in projects that are outside the list of registered projects. Importance must be attached to making economical use of supplies, making full use of domestic materials and materials available within the locality and insuring the quality of projects.

5. Practicing frugality in budget expenditures: at present, we must bear the burden of an unbalanced budget. The overriding spirit of frugality here is to absolutely not make unnecessary expenditures; at the same time, we must combat the failure to collect all revenues, create additional sources of revenue, insure that expenditures are effective and eventually achieve a balanced budget. Expenses that reflect waste or do not comply with regulations will not be paid.

6. Practicing frugality in the use of labor and arable land: these are our two most precious assets at this time. Practicing frugality in the use of labor primarily involves looking for every way to create additional jobs for laborers, making full use of social labor, utilizing labor efficiently and attaching importance to improving the quality of labor as well as labor productivity while applying policies and regulations that provide both material and psychological incentives for laborers. Our arable land is something that we cannot create and is something that we do not have much of, consequently, the requirements involved in practicing frugality in the use of arable land are even higher. In the immediate future, all state agencies, collectives and individuals that use arable land must strictly comply with current regulations in order to protect and constantly increase soil fertility. We must correct the waste of labor and arable land that is occurring at many places.

7. Practicing frugality in consumption: we must live in a manner consistent with the fruits of our labor and cannot consume more than we produce. This is a strict, common requirement of our entire society and is a requirement that must be met within all party organizations, state organizations and social organizations as well as met by each individual. We must formulate a reasonable consumption policy, one that calls for the practice of frugality on a society-wide scale on the basis of a system of consumer needs that are consistent with the country's circumstance. We must research and organize the production of consumer goods that require few raw materials but are of high quality and are suited to the needs of the people. We must continue to accelerate the campaign to establish the new, civilized, simple and frugal style of life and combat ostentatiousness, extravagance and waste.

In order to practice frugality, it is necessary to take many well coordinated measures. The first measures, which are of special importance, are to insure that everyone constantly possesses the sense of practicing frugality and struggles against misappropriation and waste and to make the practice of frugality a widespread emulation movement and a habit of the masses. This sense of practicing frugality and this frugality movement must be established on the basis of constantly heightening the level of political awareness, the spirit of socialist collective ownership, the spirit of patriotism and the love of socialism. Facts have proven that the practice of frugality is dependent, to an important degree, upon the consciousness of each person. In many cases, even though changes have not occurred in other areas, collectives and individuals have achieved good results in the practice of frugality as a result of possessing a high sense of frugality. Even when many persons are saying that they cannot achieve higher results with the equipment that they are using to perform their work, some manual workers and engineers who are conscious of the need to be frugal are able to achieve higher results. The recent movements to practice frugality in the use of gasoline and oil within the transportation sector, practice frugality in the use of coal, electric power, raw materials and building materials within many production and construction installations, practice frugality in consumption within many agencies and so forth have made one fact clear: frugality can be practiced under any circumstances. We must create the conditions and develop suitable forms whereby the practice of frugality can become a truly broad mass movement within every field of endeavor, at all times and places, become the lifestyle and the style of work of each person. The frugality movement will yield tremendous returns if it is based on a reorganized national economy and an improved management mechanism and if it is closely linked to the struggle against negative phenomena, especially misappropriation, waste, extravagance, ostentatiousness and formalism, and supported by strict inventory and control procedures.

Improving the way that economic-technical quotas are set and implementing scientific-technical programs that support the practice of frugality are also very important measures in effectively practicing frugality. The basis for determining whether we are being frugal or wasteful is economic-technical quotas and ceilings; of these quotas and ceilings, we must attach special importance to the supply consumption ceilings that apply in each area of production and construction: at present, the majority of products exceed the material consumption ceilings of the state and many products have no material consumption ceilings or only have estimated ceilings. The

various sectors, levels and basic units must immediately re-examine their economic-technical quotas in order to establish systems of new, reasonable and progressive quotas and ceilings. The technical measures that must be employed at this time are to establish and closely manage technical standards and production regulations and codes; combat deceptive practices and sloppiness; research and develop ways to gradually replace imported materials with domestic materials; apply technological advances; and improve industrial procedures, equipment and machinery with a view toward economizing on raw materials, supplies and energy and gradually reducing the level of discarded materials and defective products.

Another practical measure is to amend and promulgate policies that provide incentive for the practice of frugality so that units and individuals who record achievements in the practice of frugality are appropriately rewarded for their efforts and units and individuals who create waste and harm production or business are made to pay harsh material penalties. We must formulate a basic, systematic state policy on the practice of frugality. In the immediate future, we should promulgate specific regulations regarding the awards and penalties that apply with respect to the practice of frugality and must amend the savings deposit regulations with a view toward truly providing incentive for the people to practice frugality in consumption.

The various measures employed to organize and guide implementation also have a significant impact. The heads of the sectors, levels and basic units, who are directly responsible for guiding the practice of frugality, must closely link it to their production and business plans, must concern themselves with establishing suitable systems of organization, must facilitate the practice of frugality and must create the conditions for the frugality movement to yield increasingly high returns.

President Ho taught: "Each and every one of us must be frugal." "To advance to socialism, we must first emulate in raising production and practicing frugality."(6) By following this teaching, our people will surely cause the practice of frugality, which is a major national policy, to become reality in the life of our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and V.I. Lenin: "On Being Frugal and Raising Labor Productivity," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 22.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 214.
3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, pp 46-47.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, pp 458-459.
5. K. Marx and V.I. Lenin: "On Being Frugal...", p 215.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Practicing Frugality and Combating Misappropriation, Waste and the Malady of Bureaucracy,"

Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, pp 11 and 35.

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WE ARE DETERMINED TO WIN VICTORY OVER THE MULTI-FACETED WAR OF SABOTAGE OF THE BEIJING EXPANSIONISTS AND HEGEMONISTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 15-23

[Article by Senior General Chu Huy Man]

[Text] The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with the possibility of the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression."(1)

Winning victory over the enemy in this kind of war of sabotage while preparing to win victory over the enemy in a large-scale war of aggression, thereby insuring that our country steadily advances to socialism, is the historic responsibility of our entire party, our entire army and all our people.

While continuing to make preparations for a large-scale war of aggression against Vietnam and the other countries in Indochina, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles have been joined and are being supported by Washington in the hope that the activities of their multi-faceted war of sabotage might weaken our country and force our people to yield, thereby enabling them to avoid large military, economic and political losses, avoid the condemnation of progressive public opinion.

This multi-faceted war of sabotage is very complex. The enemy is attacking us by means of many different schemes, in many different fields, from many different directions, in many different areas and by means of many different forces, many different forms and many different, very dangerous and insidious methods. The enemy is sabotaging us economically, politically, ideologically, culturally, militarily, diplomatically and so forth.

In the border area and in our northern offshore waters, the Chinese reactionaries routinely engage in acts of armed provocation and wage a war of encroachment and occupation in order to nibble away at our arable land, thereby inflicting casualties upon army troops and civilians and sabotaging our border defense line. Spies, commandoes, enemy military aircraft and armed ships and boats of the enemy are constantly engaged in harrassment operations. The constant state of tension along the Sino-Viet border can lead to a major flareup at any time. In coordination with armed assaults along the border,

they are also waging a psychological war and a spy war and urgently inserting intelligence agents in our country. On the one hand, these intelligence agents are looking for ways to sabotage our military installations and projects; on the other hand, they are conducting investigations into our national defense and security secrets and making contact with various types of counter-revolutionaries and armed reactionary political organizations for the purposes of undermining our political security and social order and safety, resurrecting counter-revolutionary bases and preparing the conditions for carrying out a coup d'etat and fomenting an insurrection deep within our rear area so that, if the opportunity arises, they can coordinate "attacks from within" and "attacks from the outside" in surprise assaults as well as widen the war to a large-scale war.

Taking advantage of the temporary difficulties we are encountering with the economy and in everyday life, they have maliciously distorted the line and policies of our party and state; attacked our leadership; used money and goods to buy some of our cadres; intensified their espionage operations; sown the seeds of racial discrimination among our ethnic minorities; used decadent persons masquerading as clergy; resurrected counter-revolutionary organizations; and disseminated decadent cultural products among some of our youths in a vain attempt to corrupt the ranks of our revolutionary forces and undermine the socio-political base of our system.

They are urgently conducting acts of sabotage against our economy. They have distorted the economic line and policy of our party and state. They are looking for ways to destroy our material-technical bases of socialism in order to reduce the rate at which we carry out socialist construction. They are using persons hiding within our country to sabotage machinery, set warehouses afire and inflict damage upon production; they have organized smuggling operations, organized profiteering and hoarding and organized efforts to undermine our monetary system and monopolize the market. They have made every effort to take advantage of our weaknesses and shortcomings in economic management in a vain attempt to exacerbate the difficulties being encountered by our people with the economy and in everyday life and, on this basis, provoke political opposition and impede our people's socialist transformation and socialist construction.

The Beijing reactionaries are collaborating with the imperialists in an attempt to obstruct our relations with the outside. While they cannot prevent us from strengthening our relations in every area, especially our economic relations, with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community, they have pressured a number of countries into establishing an economic embargo against us.

Due to their expansionist, hegemonist nature, military activities designed to foment insurrection are of primary importance in the activities of the Beijing reactionaries against our country. Their military activities are a constant threat to the national independence and socialism of our people as well as the other countries in Indochina. Their military activities are the base of, are the factor of provocation and, in the calculations made by the Chinese aggressors, are the blow that determines the victory of all other activities. Closely linked to their military activities are their acts of political, spiritual and economic sabotage, each of which has its own impact and all of which are designed to implement their strategy of sabotage, win partial "victories" and disperse the forces of the opposition, thereby supporting

their attempts to create military pressure and their direct military operations. Local, prolonged and continuous insurrections will lead to comprehensive crisis and prepare the battlefield for large-scale military operations.

Clearly, this multi-faceted war of sabotage is a logical development of the great nation expansionism and big country hegemony of the Han Emperors, is an integral part of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the Chinese reactionaries and is being carried out against the background of the present balance of power in the world and in Southeast Asia.

By waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage against the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the other countries in Indochina, the Beijing reactionaries have slid even farther down the path of betraying socialism and betraying the revolutionary undertaking of the Chinese people and the people of the world in their scheme to reverse the wheels of history.

In their scheme and acts of aggression against our country, the Chinese reactionaries are making every effort to exploit conditions that are "favorable" to them. These conditions are the geography of the two countries; the largest army in the world, an army that has been poisoned by the thinking of the Chinese emperors and is under the command of generals who subscribe to the hegemonist, expansionist thinking of Maoism; the lackeys and the intelligence base of Washington and Beijing that remain in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, included among whom are their lackeys among the overseas Chinese and persons of Chinese ancestry; public opinion within a backward China, which never learns the truth about Beijing's acts of aggression against the three countries of Indochina; the vast country of China, which has been turned into a huge military camp by the militarization policy of the Maoists in order to support their scheme of expansion and aggression and so forth. These conditions also include the assistance provided by the international imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, to the Beijing government; both China and the United States have suffered defeat on the battlefield in Vietnam and both harbor a desire to take revenge against Vietnam, a desire that intensifies their reckless, bellicose nature; and Beijing's policy has the support of a number of persons within the ruling circles of some ASEAN countries due to their class nature, the difficult situation in which they find themselves and the fact that they have been bought by Beijing.

Finally, the Beijing reactionaries are making every effort to exploit our objective difficulties and subjective weaknesses in order to wage their war of sabotage. It must be realized that our difficulties and mistakes are also a factor that has provoked Beijing into collaborating with the imperialists and harboring the illusion of weakening and annexing our country. We must be fully aware of this situation given the fact that the international situation is undergoing complex changes at this time.

The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage against the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea at a time when the revolutions of these three countries are developing more with each passing day. The basic aspects of the present situation are the stability of the situations in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; the strength and stability of the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries; and the constantly improving international positions of these three countries, the most significant aspect of which is the strengthening of the fraternal friendship and cooperation

among the countries of Indochina and between these countries and the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The tremendous, effective assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries and the wholehearted support of many other countries and of the peace-loving people of the world for the struggle being waged by the three countries of Indochina are insurmountable obstacles to Beijing.

On the other hand, there are the defeat and the frustration experienced by Beijing in their vain attempt to expand southward through the countries of Indochina; the comprehensive crisis that they are experiencing at home, a crisis that has revealed China to be a country which, although large, is not strong; the decline in the confidence that certain circles within the imperialist camp have in the "China card," especially U.S. suspicions concerning China's intentions; and the increasingly obvious concern on the part of the ASEAN countries concerning China's expansionist schemes and tricks.

The three revolutionary currents in the world are continuing to take the offensive despite the betrayal by the Maoists within Beijing ruling circles. The peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community has further exposed to the people of the world the reactionary nature of the Chinese reactionaries and the imperialists with whom they are collaborating, further expose them as the saboteurs of peace, as the ones who have created the tense situation that exists in the world.

However, none of the facts mentioned above has not caused the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists to abandon their ambition to annex Vietnam and the other countries in Indochina. To the contrary, they are pursuing even more insane and cunning tactics. The multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against Vietnam is the product of the defeat, the weakness and the frustration of the Chinese reactionaries.

The struggle by the Vietnamese against the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles is a decisive, complex and long-range struggle. In the proceedings of our party congress, it was pointed out: "It must be clearly stated that this struggle is an arduous, complex, long-range and unremitting struggle. History has entrusted our party and our people with the task of waging this struggle for the sake of the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for the sake of the happiness of the people, for the sake of our noble international obligation."(2)

Every incorrect evaluation of the arduous, complex nature of this struggle is a mistake. Every thought or action that reflects a lack of vigilance regarding the schemes and tricks of the enemy is harmful to our fatherland, to our people and to the cause of the world revolution.

All our people and our entire army must unite as one, must make every effort to defeat the multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy, thereby insuring that our fatherland is always firmly protected and insuring the victory of socialist construction in our country.

Under the leadership of the party, we must develop the highest possible combined strength on the part of all the people in order to win victory over the enemy. We must continue to strengthen the solidarity of the

nationalities, religions and the various strata of the people, strongly develop upon the spirit of collective ownership of the laboring people, further heighten the political and spiritual unanimity of our society and utilize the intellect and the energies of all of the people in the work of building and protecting the fatherland.

By means of the forces of the entire country, from the rear area to the frontlines, and by means of the efforts of each sector and level, from the central to the basic level, we are determined to successfully carry out the tasks of building and protecting the fatherland in all fields of the economy, politics, ideology, organization, culture, society, security and national defense. We must make proficient use of each form and method of struggle, must fight the enemy on all fronts and fight them by every measure at our disposal. We must organize our key forces and widely mobilize the forces of the people for the cause of defending the country. We must build the strong, solid battle position of socialism and smoothly coordinate the activities of the various sectors, agencies, mass organizations, forces and arms of the military. We must not allow one element or one field of socialism to become weak, to be neglected and we must wage this struggle against the enemy in a relentless, steadfast and long-range manner, determined to defeat each attempt at sabotage by the enemy and eventually defeat their entire multi-faceted war of sabotage. At the same time, we must always display a high spirit of vigilance and be ready to win victory over wars of aggression of any scale should such a war be recklessly unleashed by the enemy.

At present, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are directing the thrust of their efforts toward our socialism. For this reason, as our socialist construction (which encompasses both construction and transformation) develops, we must intensify our effort to protect it. Strict security must be maintained at production installations, business installations, professional installations and so forth, must be maintained everywhere. Proficiency in production must be closely linked to protecting production well. We must strengthen the forces protecting the economy and improve the work they perform. Because, sabotaging the economy is one of the foremost objectives of the multi-faceted sabotage strategy of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. We must wage a determined struggle against thoughts and actions that separate construction from protection, protection from construction or that set one against the other. We must oppose the attitude that protecting production is only the work of the agencies of dictatorship, of the public security sector. We must be vigilant against and ready to thwart the enemy's attempts to sabotage the economic line and policy of the party, sabotage socialist production relations, sabotage the material-technical bases of socialism or sabotage socialist property. We must be vigilant and struggle against their attempts to undermine the economic relations between our country and the fraternal countries as well as our economic relations with other countries. In order to effectively oppose the enemy, it is necessary to clearly define the responsibilities of the agencies that manage construction projects and property of the state as well as the agencies that specialize in maintaining political security, economic security and social order and safety. We must take positive steps to build ourselves up so that we can take the initiative in preventing sabotage by the enemy, can win victory over the sabotage of the enemy in order to build ourselves, in order to be the firm masters of every field of activity so that we can take the offensive against the enemy, can take the offensive against the enemy in order to be the firm masters of every

field of activity; these are the basic viewpoints of the party that we must flexibly apply under present circumstances. Every manifestation of passive behavior, every thought and action that does not fully reflect these viewpoints is a mistake and is harmful. In the immediate future, while we are building ourselves up, we must have a plan for protecting ourselves, for overcoming every weakness and eliminating all laxity so that they cannot be used by the enemy. In the revolutionary struggle, the enemy always gives attention to exploiting our mistakes and shortcomings. Chinese secret agents, CIA agents and other reactionaries have been and are looking for ways to use our weaknesses to sabotage us.

It is necessary to strengthen our political and ideological battle positions. In the present situation, each of us must be alert, realize our advantages and difficulties, clearly understand the targets and tasks of the revolution and our objectives and guidelines as we move forward, be ready in terms of bearing and will, be unanimous in terms of our thinking, be tightly organized, march forward together and overcome every tendency to relax our efforts on the ideological front or allow our organization to become disorganized. We must insure that cadres and party members have a firm understanding of and struggle to properly implement the line of the party; we must build the revolutionary will and cultivate the revolutionary zeal of the masses, tighten the relationship between the party and the masses and achieve solidarity at home as well as international solidarity. We must promptly refute the psychological warfare arguments of Chinese secret agents and CIA agents. The resolution of the 5th Congress pointed out: "We must be highly vigilant and must very tightly organize the struggle to crush the psychological warfare arguments of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, of the imperialists and their lackeys...thereby insuring ourselves of victory each minute of each hour." We must uphold the principle of democratic centralism of our party and state, uphold the discipline involved in maintaining state secrets, maintain responsibility discipline and spokesperson discipline and maintain the discipline involved in complying with the statutes of the party, the laws of the state and the orders of the armed forces. It is even more necessary for leaders and commanders to firmly adhere to principles, firmly maintain discipline and set an example in maintaining discipline and complying with the law. The equality of everyone in the eyes of the law and under the code of discipline must be a reality. We must resolutely criticize and overcome all manifestations of liberalism, the lack of discipline, factionalism, partialism and disunity because these are fertile ground for the development of many negative phenomena, are the hiding places of many hostile elements.

Together with the various measures employed in the struggle on the economic and political fronts, our army and people must be determined to thwart every scheme and act of military sabotage by the enemy. As we carry out the comprehensive development of the country, we must urgently strengthen the battle position of the people's war throughout the country, especially along the northern border so that this position becomes increasingly strong and is coordinated with the increasingly strong battle positions of the peoples of the fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea. It is the desire of the enemy to "wage a protracted war of attrition" against us, consequently, we must destroy or cause the attrition of very many of their forces and means of war. In order to seize the initiative, it is necessary to purify the area and be determined to suppress counter-revolutionaries, to promptly thwart and suppress every act of insurrection and subversion together with the acts of sabotage of the enemy wherever they might occur, thereby maintaining our

political security, our economic security and our social order and safety. We must immediately and strongly retaliate against every act of encroachment and occupation by the enemy in the border and island areas of the fatherland. We must select highly efficient methods of fighting and punish the enemy by means of truly painful, truly effective annihilating blows. The annihilation of the enemy must be carried out in conjunction with protecting the arable land, protecting the fruits of the revolution, protecting the life and property of the people. These are the objectives of a war to defend the fatherland; at the same time, they are the requirements we face in each battle against the enemy's instigation of armed conflicts and acts of encroachment and occupation.

On the basis of the revolutionary line and the people's war and national defense lines of the party, we must coordinate the national defense system with the economy, the national defense system with the security system in order to create strong and dependable economic-national defense strategic battle positions and security-national defense battle positions on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality, thereby stimulating the development of the economy, strengthening the national defense system and enabling ourselves to deal with every situation.

We must continue to build the people's armed forces, build both the main force army and local army in such a way that there is good coordination in terms of force structure between standing forces and mobilizable reserve forces, that the armed forces are of the necessary size and that their quality is constantly being improved. We must continue to intensify the effort to build a people's army that possesses an increasingly strong working class nature, possesses a high will to win victory, is highly disciplined, possesses a serious style, achieves an increasingly high level of regular force, modern operations, constantly improves its level of combat readiness and fulfills every task assigned by the fatherland. Full importance must be attached to widely and strongly building the militia and self-defense forces, especially along the northern border, and to establishing both mobile forces and stationary forces that are closely linked together, thereby insuring that militia and self-defense forces maintain firm control over their areas of operation and can launch strong attacks. We must strengthen the solidarity and the effective coordination between the people's army and the people's public security force, which serve as the nucleus in the fight being waged by all the people against the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy. We must strengthen the close relations between the army and the people. We must care for the families of war dead, war invalids, military personnel, persons who have retired and persons who are convalescing. We must prepare the young generation to be ready to join the armed forces, which is the great school that trains the young citizens of the country to be new, socialist persons who are ready to fight and die to defend the fatherland.

Strengthening its leadership of the struggle by our people against the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy in order to firmly maintain the independence, freedom and security of the fatherland and protect the peaceful construction being carried out by our people is the noble mission that our party must perform for the nation and is, at the same time, the international obligation of the party.

Our party has asserted that the basic enemy of our country's revolution and the world revolution is imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, and that

the immediate, dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese revolution is the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. To our country, they are extremely dangerous aggressors and saboteurs. To them, no method has been or ever will be too insidious if it enables them to achieve their political goal. Therefore, the party must clearly show everyone, show them in a way that leaves no room for doubt, that our immediate enemy is the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. The party must give everyone a clear understanding of their schemes and actions as well as a clear understanding of their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers. Through education, we must heighten everyone's vigilance, insure that everyone has a clear understanding of the party line, insure that everyone is always combat ready, cultivate an iron will and build determination and resolve to fight and protect the fatherland. The party must very tightly and effectively organize the struggle to crush the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy. Efforts must be focused on criticizing and denouncing Chinese expansionism and hegemony. We must continue to display a high spirit of national independence and a high level of socialist awareness, must uphold our patriotic tradition, display the spirit of proletarian internationalism and continue to clearly state the uncompromising nature of the struggle against the war of sabotage being waged by the enemy in the economic, political, ideological, military, cultural and other fields. We must overcome every manifestation of a lack of vigilance and must guard against everything that reflects the thinking of compromise, reflects weariness among cadres, party members and the people.

Every party chapter is a leadership nucleus, is a highly vigilant combat unit struggling in a resourceful and effective way to defeat each scheme and action of the enemy. The leadership provided by the party must mobilize a combined strength of all the people as well as the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, thereby creating a comprehensive front designed to crush each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy. Facts have proven that our victory will be even larger if the various party committee echelons, after learning the schemes and tricks of the enemy, delve deeply into fully assessing the situation surrounding the implementation of the party's resolutions concerning fighting the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage; attach importance to providing leadership in all of the activities involved in maintaining political security, maintaining economic security and maintaining social order and safety; attach importance to building combat ready armed forces and the army rear area operations; attach importance to leading the political security forces, economic security forces and the forces protecting the culture and society; promptly correct deviations; concern themselves with resolving pressing daily problems; provide close guidance of the effort to coordinate security operations with construction in the various fields; coordinate the mass movement to resist the enemy and protect the fatherland with productive labor; and win victory in each battle and in each field every hour of every day.

The arduous, steadfast and complex fight against the war activities of the enemy is occurring in all fields of endeavor. Therefore, our party must increase the effectiveness with which the state manages politics, the economy, the culture and the thinking of society. In this struggle, effective state management is manifested in tightly organizing society on the basis of regulations and procedures. All agencies of the state, from the central to the basic levels, must strengthen and improve the socialist system of law and establish regulations, rules and procedures for managing the various fields;

they must strengthen the measures used to provide effective administrative management in coordination with propagandizing and disseminating knowledge of the law among the people. The enemy is very cunning and employs evil schemes coordinated with modern scientific means. Fulfilling its social management function, our state must combine the spirit of revolutionary activism of the masses with the armed forces and the specialized agencies, that is, the people's army, the people's public security sector, the People's Organ of Control and the People's Court. These are the instruments of force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party must closely lead these instruments of dictatorship, coordinate their activities and heighten their spirit of vigilance and their level of combat readiness in order to achieve dictatorship over the enemy and not allow the enemy or decadent elements to conduct covert or overt operations. At the same time, under the unified leadership of the party, we must successfully coordinate the tremendous strength of the masses with the specialized organizations to insure that the struggle is waged in a more steadfast and effective manner.

Protecting the fatherland is the work of all the people, work that is performed under the leadership of the party. It is both the right and the obligation of each citizen in our country. The mass organizations and the various social organizations must widely and thoroughly propagandize the party's line on building and protecting the fatherland. They must expose and denounce the crimes of the enemy to the people. In this way, they will insure that the masses voluntarily and fully comply with the line, programs and policies of the party and state and participate in developing measures, which they will take on their own, to protect factories, worksites and hamlets against violations of policies and laws and prevent the enemy from taking advantage of such violations or thwarting enemy activities. We must teach the masses to display a high spirit of collective ownership and implement and supervise the implementation of the various laws that pertain to the defense of the fatherland, thereby insuring that defense needs are met in a manner consistent with the capabilities at each place and the requirements faced at each time. The Trade Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union, which are members of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and are the representatives of the right of collective ownership of the masses, have a weighty responsibility in this struggle against the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage. Under the leadership of the party, these organizations must teach the masses to voluntarily expose enemy acts of sabotage and other crimes and be determined to suppress them; actively teach, transform and supervise counter-revolutionary elements and other criminals; denounce and struggle to overcome negative phenomena in ideological life, political life, economic life, cultural life and social life; supervise and inspect cadres, party members and personnel of the state in the work of defending the fatherland; and establish good customs and a wholesome style of life as the premise for maintaining the security of the fatherland. These are jobs that we are fully capable of performing if leadership is provided by our party organizations, which have been tempered in the struggle for national liberation and the decisive class struggle filled with challenges.

The line of our party reflects the will of the people to win victory, reflects the nation's spirit of self-reliance. It has inherited and developed upon the tradition of building the country, the tradition of the war to liberate the fatherland and the glorious experiences in defending the country that have been gained by our people. For this reason, this line thoroughly embodies the revolutionary-offensive spirit and combines as one the two strategic tasks of

successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Under the leadership of the party, all our people and our entire army are determined to win victory over the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 32.
2. The Report of the Party Central Committee on Party Building at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5-1982, p 27.

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## THE 65 YEARS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 24-31

[Article by Professor Dang Huu]

[Text] The Soviet Union, which was a backward agricultural country only a very short time ago, has become one of the countries that leads the world in scientific, economic and technological development. Prior to the October Revolution, the industrial output of Czarist Russia only accounted for slightly more than 4 percent of the world's industrial output. Today, despite the ravages of the two world wars and the constant need to allocate a significant percentage of natural resources to meet defense needs, this figure is more than 20 percent of world output.

Today, the Soviet Union possesses huge scientific potentials. The total number of scientific cadres, including instructors at colleges, has risen to nearly 1.3 million, or one-fourth the total number of scientific cadres in the world. If we include the various types of cadres working within the scientific sector or supporting scientific endeavors, this figure increases to more than 4 million. Of this number, nearly 400,000 cadres hold PhD or MS degrees. The number of engineers and technical cadres working on the development and application of new technology in the various design and production agencies exceeds 4 million. The 870 colleges annually graduate more than 700,000 specialists. Each year, roughly 25,000 persons defend their MS or PhD theses. The system for updating the qualifications and retraining cadres who have a college education is rather well developed; all cadres who have a college education attend training update classes on the average of once every 5 years in accordance with the requirements of their work. The national scientific-technical information system is rather well developed, encompassing 10 union institutes, 86 sector institutes, 15 republic institutes, nearly 100 joint-sector centers and more than 100,000 scientific-technical information offices in the basic units. The Soviet state has made a significant investment in scientific activities, an investment that has grown from 300 million rubles in 1940 to 22.6 billion rubles in 1980, or 4.7 percent of national income.

The victory of the October Revolution caused a fundamental change in the role and the position of science in society. Lenin was very concerned with developing science and organizing scientific activities on a nationwide scale. He emphasized: "Without large-scale capitalist technology based on the latest discoveries of modern science and without a state organization that has a plan

that can achieve very strict compliance by millions of persons with a uniform standard in production and the distribution of products, it is impossible to talk about socialism."(1) Lenin frequently stressed that the base of socialism can only be a large-scale machine industry based on the latest achievements of science and technology: "Without advancing Russia to a higher level of technology, we cannot talk about restoring the national economy nor can we talk about communism.'(2)

The most important task of the party and state during the first days of the Soviet government was to change science from the "tool of capitalism into the tool of socialism," into "the tool for liberating workers and the exploited"; "every scientific and technological achievement of mankind, every improvement made by specialists, all the intelligence of specialists, all of these things must be used to support reunited workers."(3)

The fundamental principles in the science and technology policy of the state, the tasks that faced science under the new conditions, the path for the development of science and the measures for mobilizing scientific forces to participate in the performance of the country's tasks were presented by Lenin in the book "Draft of the Scientific-Technical Plan" (April, 1918). Lenin set forth the principle of combining science with the development of production forces, with restoring and developing the economy. At the same time, he set forth the principle of planning, which is an extremely important principle; and, he was especially concerned with the collective aspect of the formulation of scientific-technical plans. Later, the principle of planning was developed and concretized by Lenin through the establishment of a subcommittee to draft the famous plan for the electrification of Russia, the GOELRO Plan. This plan primarily focused on developing production on the basis of utilizing electric power, making combined use of natural resources and applying advanced technology, advanced industrial processes and advanced measures for organizing production. It was also in this plan that the Soviet Union first implemented the principle of long-term (10-15 years) planning of scientific and technological development on a nationwide scale. Lenin stressed: "We cannot operate if we do not have a long-term plan that can yield significant achievements."(4)

Lenin also laid the foundation for the unified management of scientific and technical activities. In 1918, the Department of Science and Technology, which was directly subordinate to the Supreme National Economic Council, was established to manage the scientific agencies of the entire country. Lenin was especially concerned with the living and working conditions of scientists. Even during their days of greatest difficulty, in 1918, the state allocated rather large amounts of money to research, thereby creating the conditions needed for the creative activities of scholars and engineers. Lenin asserted: "Without the guidance provided by specialists who are well versed in the various fields of science and technology and are experienced, it is impossible to shift to socialism."(5)

Thus, considering science and technology to be forces possessing tremendous ability to transform the country and to be indispensable in socialist construction, the Soviet Union turned its hands to formulating a strategy for the development of science and technology.

In order to implement this strategy, the Soviet Union adopted at an early date and constantly improved upon its viewpoint concerning the construction and

utilization of scientific facilities, the important foundations of which were insuring true social equality and opening the door for the broad laboring masses to participate in scientific activities and attend college. The state paid all of the operating costs of research agencies; even during the war to defend the country and amidst the destruction that existed following the war, when there was virtually no way to create sources of capital, the Soviet government still allocated a significant percentage of its foreign currency reserves to the training of cadres overseas, the purchase of inventions and scientific and industrial equipment and the importation of necessary scientific-technical documents. The state paid the cost of all research projects. As a result, it was able to maintain the scientific potential of the colleges and scientific centers that existed before the revolution and constructed, in a short amount of time, scores of new colleges and research agencies.

A typical example is found in the history of the development of the Soviet atomic power industry. Amidst extremely difficult circumstances and at a time when every effort had to be focused on maintaining the production of the most essential goods needed by the people, the Soviet Union remained firm in its determination to establish the Institute of Technical Physics in Leningrad; later, a similar center was established in Khakov. The results of the activities of these institutes enabled the Soviet Union to build the first atomic power plant and the first atomic powered warship in the world and develop the world's leading atomic and nuclear energy industry.

At the same time, the Soviet Union has attached importance to developing scientific potentials through industrial research and licenses. In order to achieve a maximum rate of scientific and technological progress against the background of limited manpower resources, the Soviet Union has taken a series of economic organizational measures, such as the following: establishing a system of design-testing agencies and specialized industries within the various economic sectors; applying the state planning and control system for certain large-scale industrial innovations; abolishing technological-production and commercial secrets and implementing a system of payment-free or non-profit scientific-technical information transfers among agencies, state-operated enterprises and collective; the state purchasing all necessary patents and providing them free of charge to production-business agencies; organizing a well coordinated system of state standards for the primary products and the various factors of the industrial process; and applying a system of preferential credit and incentives for industrial innovations based on an evaluation of their socio-economic returns.

In the period of building the material-technical bases of socialism (1917-1937), the production-business and the scientific -technical potentials of the Soviet Union were very low; there was a serious lack of modern industries and scientific-technical cadres; capital was being obtained primarily from foreign currency reserves instead of being accumulated through production activities; and the standard of living of the people was low. The strategy that was adopted in the face of this situation was to give priority to resolving the key problems of vital importance. The pressing tasks of the moment were: to provide jobs to all able-bodied persons, eradicate famine, disease, and the other consequences of the war, eliminate inflation and stabilize and gradually raise the standard of living of the people; develop the country's production in a planned manner while insuring that the economy developed at a rapid rate; abolishing the dependency upon imported technology and raw materials on the

basis of building the heavy industrial sector and domestic raw material and mineral installations; build a well coordinated infrastructure commensurate with production development tasks; and organize a universal education-training and health care system for every stratum of the population to insure that each and every citizen came into contact with culture, art and science.

In order to perform the tasks mentioned above, the Soviet Union carried out the transformation of virtually the entire system of production forces on the basis of building a system of heavy machine production and making use of advanced technology.

A typical example was the building of the raw material and mineral base for industry. At the very outset, the Soviet Union developed research projects in the earth sciences, in modern methods of geological exploration, in the training of cadres and specialists and so forth. As a result, in only a very short amount of time, science recorded outstanding achievements and competently assisted the national economy in the establishment of a strong, multi-purpose raw material and mineral base that was not dependent upon imports. The broad scale and the high quality of geological exploration permitted the Soviet Union to develop, within the space of 20 years, sources of practically all the minerals needed for the industrial sectors, thereby insuring that the country achieved a high rate of economic development. For example, during the past 25 years, increases in the known reserves of the following minerals exceeded the quantities being used by the following amounts: coal by 2 times, natural gas by 20 times, ferrous metals and alloys by 4 to 36 times, the majority of nonferrous metal ores by 7 times and phosphorite by 10 to 12 times. The development of mineral explorations permitted the formulation of a national economic development plan for the long-term future that was more soundly based and permitted the optimum distribution of production capacity.

An important characteristic of the technology policy of the industrialization program in the Soviet Union was the coordination of large-scale machine production utilizing the most advanced technology with the development of many average and small size enterprises requiring small investments. By means of all the various forms of production organizations established by it, the Soviet Union steadily mechanized manual labor and increased the use of equipment and energy, primarily by means of electrification.

Together with carrying out cooperativization, the Soviet Union implemented the strategy of providing a new scientific-technical base for agriculture. It built a tractor and agricultural machine production sector and gradually introduced electricity in the countryside. In 1940, equipment and energy were being used in 60 percent of the work performed in agriculture. Importance was attached to the agricultural biology, agricultural technology and the veterinary sciences. Colleges and research institutes were established to support the development of agriculture. As a result, in 1940, agricultural production exceeded the pre-war level (1914-1918), the consumption of products per capita increased significantly and the number of persons working in agriculture declined by nearly 25 percent.

Importance was also attached to the health care system. The Soviet Union developed and implemented a well coordinated program for providing improved health care. In a very short amount of time, it eradicated such dangerous diseases as smallpox, malaria and so forth; the infant mortality rate declined

ten fold and the average age of the people was increased from 30 to 70 years. In the space of less than one-half century, the Soviet Union advanced from being one of the most backward countries in the world to a level of development equal to that of the countries with the most progressive public health services and medical science.

Upon the conclusion of World War II, the Soviet Union had to resolve a host of problems: restoring the industrial system in its European region, which had been almost entirely destroyed, raising the majority of its backward production sectors to the advanced level of development of the world and accelerating agricultural production, which was inherently disorganized and had been interrupted during the war. It can be said that no capitalist country has ever suffered the losses that were suffered by the Soviet Union in World War II: more than 30,000 industrial enterprises, 65,000 kilometers of railroad, 60 percent of steel production and coal mining capacity and 84,000 schools and research facilities were destroyed. The situation was made even worse by the fact that more than 20 million able-bodied persons were killed in the war and there was a serious shortage of housing, grain, food products, means of transportation, etc.

Developing upon its strengths, the Soviet Union set forth a new development line, the fundamental aspect of which was developing technology and production on the basis of making increased use of all sources of manpower and applying advanced scientific and technological achievements in order to insure a high rate of economic development and catch up to and surpass the developed capitalist countries in terms of product output and quality.

The Soviet Union first attached importance to expanding and developing scientific-technical research. In 20 years (1950-1970), expenditures on science increased 16 times and scientific-technical cadres were trained at a much faster rate than other types of cadres. While rapidly expanding its scientific-technical research, the Soviet Union still firmly adhered to the guideline of focusing efforts on the key areas of development. Within industry, these areas were: the coordinated mechanization and automation of production processes on the basis of using machine systems; attaching importance to those industries that require few raw materials, operate continuously and produce no discarded materials; and utilizing new materials and new processing methods.

Within agriculture, the main areas of development were: coordinated mechanization; the application of chemistry; the improvement of the production technology for all types of agricultural products; the application of achievements in genetics; and the implementation of an integrated soil improvement program.

A typical example of using science to support socio-economic goals can be seen in the integrated program for the development of agriculture within the non-black soil area in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The objective is to establish a large, high yield agricultural production area that is nearly equal in size to the territory of France. Everything, including the drainage and irrigation of a huge quantity of land, will be completed by 1990. However, even in 1980, the agricultural output of this area accounted for one-sixth the agricultural output of the entire Soviet Union.

The role that science plays as a moving force is also verified in the development of Siberia. This region, which measures 10 million square kilometers, contains about three-fourths of the minerals, fuels and energy, more than one-half of the hydroelectric power and one-half of the timber reserves of the entire Soviet Union. Realizing the tremendous potentials that lie within the region and the region's decisive significance, the Soviet Union is concentrating on accelerating the development of Siberia. In 1980, Siberia and the Far East supplied more than 50 percent of the petroleum (including condensed gas), about 40 percent of the anthracite coal and natural gas, 30 percent of the timber and paper and 20 percent of the electric power of the entire Soviet Union. In the 10th five year plan, practically the entire increase in the output of petroleum, natural gas and aluminum within the Soviet Union is the result of increased output in Siberia. Whereas the industrial output of the entire Soviet Union will increase by about 35-39 percent, the industrial output of Siberia will increase by more than 50 percent (scientists have proven that the rate of development of Siberia must be 30 percent higher than the average rate of development of the entire Soviet Union in order to achieve optimum development of the Soviet economy). Prior to the October Revolution, there were only 300 industrial installations in Siberia; today, Siberia has 30,000 industrial enterprises. Some of the projects there are very large, with the most significant one being the construction of the Bakal-Amur (BAM) Railroad, which is the project of the century. Very large territorial production groups have been and are being formed; these groups have achieved very high production efficiency by making optimum use of local raw materials and energy and utilizing modern technology and modern industrial processes. For example, in the Bratsk Energy-Industry Group, labor productivity per industrial worker is 2.5 times higher than the average labor productivity of the entire Soviet Union. The average labor productivity in Siberia is 20 percent higher than the average labor productivity of the Soviet Union. Obviously, these large achievements could not have been recorded without efforts being focused on building and developing scientific potentials, and one of the strongest facilities in this effort is the Siberian Academy of Sciences.

Tremendous scientific-technological achievements have insured the strong development of the economy. Between 1955 and 1975, nearly one-half of the increase in product output was the result of the development of production in depth. By 1975, industrial output had increased by 17 times, agricultural output by 2.3 times and national income by 11 times compared to 1940. Labor productivity had increased by 3.5 times within agriculture and 6.6 times within industry. Between 1969 and 1976, 80 percent of the increase in national income was a result of increased labor productivity, 43 percent of which occurred as a result of the increased use of technical equipment and 30 percent of which occurred as a result of raising the level of education and the skill level of manual workers.

In the 7th decade of its existence, the Soviet Union has truly become a developed country in every respect and leads the world in scientific-technological development and in the degree to which the material and spiritual needs of the people are met.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU emphasized: "The circumstances surrounding the development of the national economy in the 1980's make it a matter of increasing urgency that we accelerate the advancement of science and technology." "A communist party that has no command of science is totally incapable of building the new society."(6)

The guidelines of modern Soviet science are to research matters of theory while focusing efforts on resolving key problems of the economy and making discoveries that lead to revolutionary changes in production with a view toward making a leap forward in the efficiency with which live labor, embodied labor, raw materials and fuels are utilized and achieving a marked increase in product quality. Every scientific effort is being directed toward two major goals: efficiency and quality.

Under present conditions, now that the selection of guidelines for development has become a matter of great complexity, the making of long-term forecasts regarding scientific and technological achievements in the future assumes a role of even more special importance. The scale and the impact of the application of science and technology within production has become so important that evaluating socio-economic returns has become a necessary prerequisite to the development of society in the pre-determined direction. For this reason, one of the most important factors in the application of science and technology in production within the Soviet Union at this time is strengthening the forecast base used to make planning decisions. Toward this end, the Soviet Union has, on the basis of forecast results, developed "programs for combined scientific-technological advances and socio-economic returns up to the year 1990" as the base for the formulation of its 5-year plans. A number of other programs have been developed for the years 2000 and 2005.

The Soviet Union considers closely linking science and production to be a pressing requirement of our times and has attached importance to rapidly applying scientific discoveries in production in the form of new technologies and new products.

The shortening of the "research-production-utilization" cycle has been accomplished by means of a wide variety of forms of organization that link research, design and technical agencies with production. As a result, the "research-production-utilization" cycle has been reduced in length by three to four times, thereby insuring the rapid updating of production technology and product variety and making more efficient use of scientific and technological potentials.

In recent years, in order to provide the scientific base needed to make decisions concerning the improvement of management and rapidly introduce the results of research in the everyday management of scientific and technological advances, the Soviet Union has established many centers researching the organization and management of science and improving management, in general, and improving the management of science and technology, in particular, are important, indispensable elements in the comprehensive plans of the various levels.

As it is in the field of social revolution, the Soviet Union is the leader in charting the course for the development of science and technology for a socialist state beginning at a relatively low level of development. Due to

socio-economic conditions, historic traditions and national characteristics, each country follows its own course of scientific and technological development; however, the experience of the Soviet Union in its 65 years of scientific and technological development provides valuable lessons to countries, lessons that can help them to rapidly build an independent scientific base for themselves and reduce the gap between themselves and the developed countries.

1. When the level of development is still low but there are abundant labor and rich natural resources, the selection of a strategy for development in breadth in close coordination with development in depth is of decisive significance. Attaching importance only to development in breadth will lead to backwardness over the long range even though it might create the potential for economic growth in the initial stage. To achieve development in breadth, it is absolutely necessary to develop and apply scientific and technological achievements.

2. In the selection and transfer of technology, attention must be given to maintaining a reasonable balance between advanced technology and technology that requires much manual labor that is not highly skilled and a small investment of capital. This balance provides work for laborers and is consistent with the limited investment capabilities that exist during the initial stage; at the same time, it lays a firm foundation for the development of production in depth in the future.

3. In order to rapidly achieve a perfect balance of scientific and technological potentials, it is first necessary to develop the education and training of scientific cadres while building the system needed to acquire and disseminate achievements of science and technology in production (the system of research and development agencies, design agencies and agencies that transfer advanced technology to production).

4. In the process of development, the policy on the use of scientific and technological potentials is of decisive significance. The potentials of the country should be focused in an especially important direction so that the country can rapidly reach the advanced level of development of the world.

The tremendous contributions made by the Soviet Union to the countries that have followed it do not stop at summarizing and disseminating profound experiences concerning the building of a style of society that is new in the history of man; the Soviet Union has also contributed part of its tremendous economic and scientific-technological potentials to help fraternal countries and friends.

In the process of building and developing their scientific and technological potentials, the Vietnamese have received wholehearted, tremendous and very effective assistance from the party, the government and the people of the Soviet Union. We will make every effort to study the experiences of the Soviet Union and accept this valuable assistance in the most effective manner possible so that science becomes a direct production force and competently supports socialist construction in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 368.
2. Ibid., Volume 42, p 36.
3. Ibid., Volume 38, p 31.
4. Ibid., Volume 42, p 188.
5. Ibid., Volume 36, p 217.
6. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 80.

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## EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS: THE CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 32-51

[Text] Editorial Note: Recently, in the capital Hanoi, the Marx-Lenin Institute and TAP CHI CONG SAN held a scientific conference on "The Cultural and Spiritual Values of Vietnam." Nguyen Vinh, member of the Party Central Committee and head of the Marx-Lenin Institute, delivered the opening address. Hoang Chuong, editor-in-chief of TAP CHI CONG SAN, summarized the conference. The conferees heard more than 20 presentations. Below, we have printed some of the presentations made at the conference.

Nguyen Vinh: Understanding, affirming and accurately evaluating the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam are matters of major theoretical and practical significance. These are some of the foundations used to define the guidelines for and the specifics involved in molding the new man, building the new culture and establishing the new, socialist lifestyle in our country.

The laws that govern cultural and spiritual life and its development are diverse and complex. Understanding, affirming and correctly evaluating the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam are very important in the ideological and cultural revolution.

Due to the conditions under which they lived, due to their historic and social characteristics, the Vietnamese created a rich cultural and spiritual life at an early date, a life with its own special characteristics and national traditions. Pham Van Dong considers this to be "the most precious, most beautiful value, the fragrance, the flavor and the poetry of life, such are the cultural values, the spiritual values"(1) of we Vietnamese. However, there are, at this time, different viewpoints and methods employed within our society with regard to evaluating the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam. At certain times, some persons have placed too much emphasis upon the cultural and spiritual traditions and values of the nation; at other times, some persons have felt excessively inferior, worshipped foreign countries and denied these values of the nation. Some persons only recognize the classical cultural and spiritual values and traditions of Vietnam but do not recognize the cultural and spiritual values of the revolution, do not see how these classical traditions have been developed and enhanced in the socialist revolution. Against the background of the difficulties being

encountered in our economic life at this time, the tendency to underevaluate and even deny the existence of these cultural and spiritual values is growing. Therefore, under the light of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the party, we must affirm and correctly evaluate the cultural and spiritual values of our nation so that we can continue to develop upon them in the socialist revolution and bring them to the level of development of our times.

At present, we are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism; the struggle between socialism and capitalism is an arduous and complex struggle in every field of social life. The arduous and complex nature of this struggle is even more evident on the cultural and spiritual front. Although the bourgeoisie and small-scale producers have been and are undergoing socialist transformation, bourgeois thinking and the attitudes and habits of small-scale producers still have a strong impact upon social life and still control our activities at certain times and places. At these places and times, the dominant position is not occupied by the revolutionary thinking of Marxism-Leninism or the fine cultural and spiritual traditions of Vietnam. The influences of colonialism and feudalism, especially the poisons of U.S. style neo-colonialism, are still causing harm in our society, especially among youths; at some places and times, they still control the cultural and spiritual life and the lifestyle of some of our people. We must examine the influence of Confucianism, the influence of the religions, the influence of the unwholesome lifestyle of the West and the harmful impact of the psychological war being waged by the imperialists and the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles. In the Political Report at the 5th Party Congress, Le Duan stated: "The struggle between the two ways of life, between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward, between the progressive and the reactionary in the field of culture and ideology, in our style of life, is occurring on a daily basis and is a very complex struggle to which we cannot give light attention."(2)

In this situation, confirming the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam in order to develop upon them in the work of developing our socialist ideology and culture while criticizing, for the purpose of eradicating, the influences of the ideology and culture of the old society and of the hostile classes are a pressing task of ours. Thus, the matter of the "cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam" has been raised. In the course of building socialist ideology and culture, how must we preserve and develop upon the noble values of the nation? Which values and thoughts must be affirmed? Which values and thoughts should we cultivate, which should we oppose and so forth?

Socialist construction, especially socialist construction within a country in which small-scale production still predominates and which is bypassing the stage of capitalist development, as is the case with our country, is a brand new and very difficult undertaking, is a process of activities conducted by the laboring masses in a very conscious manner under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class. In the ideological and cultural revolution, self-consciousness and creativity in the effort to develop upon the traditional cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam are very important elements, elements that we must seriously examine and study. This scientific conference on "The Cultural and Spiritual Values of Vietnam" is being held today for this very purpose.

In order to lay the groundwork for achieving unanimity concerning this complex issue, we suggest that this debate concentrate on the following matters:

First, it is necessary to clearly define the concept of cultural and spiritual values. Many researchers at home and abroad have dealt with this matter to one degree or another. And, there are surely persons among us who hold different opinions concerning values, concerning cultural and spiritual values, and it is hoped that we can engage in a widespread exchange of opinions here in order to eventually achieve a scientific concept that can be used as the basis for subsequent research.

Secondly, what are the standards used to define values, define cultural and spiritual values? Should we not examine these standards from the viewpoint of social benefits and social progress? Are cultural and spiritual values only found in the achievements contributed by man to the development of history, to serving the interests and happiness of the nation, of mankind?

Thirdly, there are the fundamental viewpoints with which there must be unanimous agreement when analyzing and evaluating the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam.

If we look back over the process of the formation and development of the civilizations of mankind, we see that all social-cultural communities and the various styles of civilization in history have existed on the basis of different production relations and that the history of man has been the history of replacing one mode of production with another. As a result, the value systems that exist during each period are of a distinct class nature and a historic point of view must be maintained when evaluating these value systems.

As Engels said, following the stage of barbarism, mankind experienced three major periods of civilization: ancient civilization with its system of slave ownership, medieval civilization based on the serf system and modern bourgeois civilization based on hired labor and capital. Each of these civilizations was a step forward in history and represented a step forward by cultural and spiritual values; the social bases of these civilizations were class exploitation and increasingly sharp class antagonisms. For this reason, these civilizations were limited in many ways.

Socialism has replaced capitalism and ushered in a new and brilliant civilization. For the first time in history, socialist society is creating the conditions for abolishing all class distinctions, all social antagonisms and liberating labor so that the members of society can become the masters of society, the masters of nature and the masters of themselves, can mold the new man and establish the new culture and the new style of life. The new style civilization with its value systems that are being formed and are developing well within the world socialist community has been and is contributing to mankind's development to the most beautiful of civilizations, communist civilization.

In the initial period of socialism, when the means of creative labor are still limited and the material standard of living is not high but the new lifestyle can be born and developed, the relationships among persons have been and are assuming new values. If we possess the necessary consciousness, is it not possible for us to immediately establish within our social life new and beautiful relations between one person and another; in the cultural and spiritual life of the new society, cannot the positive nature of the fine traditional cultural and spiritual values of the nation still be maintained and cannot they also be enhanced? Our material needs are limited but are not our cultural and spiritual needs boundless?

In a society with classes, according to Lenin's argument concerning the two currents of national culture, folk culture always exists side by side with the culture of the ruling class. Under these circumstances, the traditional values of the nation are primarily created by the laboring people; however, there are also times when the ruling class makes contributions to the nation's traditional values.

In Vietnam, the traditional cultural and spiritual values of the nation have been created, maintained, preserved and enhanced by the laboring people, primarily by the class of farmers. The feudal class made certain contributions in this regard, especially when the various feudal strata needed to rely upon serfs to resist foreign aggression or topple old, corrupt feudal dynasties. Therefore, how selective, how critical should we be when incorporating the cultural and spiritual heritage of the past? Is not folk culture the extremely rich storehouse of the nation's values in many fields of life, does it not reflect the soul, the intelligence, the talents and the character of Vietnam in the most profound manner possible? A "Hich tuong si," a "Binh ngo dai cao," a "Chinh phu ngam," a "Doan truong tan thanh" and so forth does embody the unequalled traditions and qualities of the nation.

The traditional cultural and spiritual values of a nation are not immutable, rather, they undergo a process of dialectical development. Are there not traditional values of today that will retain their original character and not be supplemented, updated and enhanced many times? Have not many of today's revolutionary values become traditional values of the nation, of the class, such as loyalty to the party, to the revolution and to the fatherland, being filial to the people, displaying pure proletarian international feelings and so forth? In accordance with the law that governs them, values always evolve toward the true, the good and the beautiful. For this reason, as is the case in the other fields of science, when examining, affirming and evaluating cultural and spiritual values, including both old traditions as well as new revolutionary values, we must, of course, have a full understanding of viewpoint of development.

While emphasizing the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam, of socialism, we cannot deny the common values of mankind, rather, we must adopt a viewpoint with regard to inheriting these values and must develop upon them in a scientific fashion. Denying socialism's inheritance of the cultural and spiritual values of prior ages of mankind is as incorrect as not being selective when incorporating other values and as incorrect as disregarding the essential differences between the different social systems. Our Vietnam

stands at the intersection of cultural exchange between the East and the West, the North and the South and is a place where many of the world's cultures have met. Therefore, we cannot "close our ports" but neither can we open our doors for every wind to blow through. How can we select the very best of mankind while blocking the harmful influences of the decadent culture of the imperialists and international reactionaries? When broadening our intercourse with the world culture, how can we maintain the national character of our culture and, at the same time, raise it to a new level? How can we insure that the broad laboring masses, especially youths, are able to distinguish between that which is "harmful" and that which is "wholesome" so that they avoid that which they must avoid? How can we insure that they are "immune" when they encounter an ill wind? The task of the social sciences regarding this issue is truly a large and complex one.

However, in resolving this problem, one major requirement we face is that we must know ourselves. Thus, what are our nation's beautiful cultural and spiritual traditional values? How can we incorporate, develop upon and raise these values to the level of modern civilization of the proletariat? To Huu said: "the suffering of man lies in the fact that he lives amidst endless beauty that he himself created but which he does not fully understand. It is not that mankind is highly ignorant. Mankind has been able to exist because man has created things of great beauty which, today, still cannot be fully appreciated. If man understands that he is the creator of material and spiritual values and has confidence in his strength, it will lead to an explosion of values, of talents. In order for this to happen, we must insure that everyone is conscious of beauty and has confidence in his own strength."(3)

Thus, are we conscious of the beauty of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam?

Productive labor and combat, which are always the two wheels of history and are closely linked to each other, insure the survival and development of every nation. Due to its specific historic conditions, these two factors formed the long-standing and beautiful traditions of Vietnam. They are the spirit "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom"; the spirit of tenacity, resolve and resourcefulness; the sense of being the master of the country, the master of society and the master of one's own life; the spirit of democracy and equality in relations among persons and "love of country, love of family, love of others and love for oneself"; the spirit of duty and loyalty to one's compatriots and comrades, to one's village, hamlet and birthplace; and the virtues of diligence, creativity, optimism and love of life. Generally speaking, these are the factors of the unshakeable, strong vitality of the Vietnamese nation. This vitality, this traditional beauty has enabled our people to meet every challenge of nature and foreign aggressors, survive and develop. Thus, how must be summarize these cultural and spiritual values? And, what have we been able to do to preserve, develop and enhance these noble traditions? Moreover, what must we do to show every laborer that he is the "creator" of these values and to give him confidence in "his own strength" in order to bring about "explosions" of these cultural and spiritual values?

It has always been our policy to incorporate and develop upon the traditional cultural and spiritual values of the nation in the best possible manner. The realities of life have shown that it was not until the light of Marxism-Leninism appeared, until President Ho and our party charted the course of the Vietnamese revolution that these traditional values were protected, enhanced and developed into revolutionary cultural and spiritual values; these values have assumed a new essence and a new quality. The revolution brought about a turning point, a leap forward in life, in the creation of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam. The Vietnamese cultural and spiritual values that we have today were not "handed down from above," are "not a gift from God" and are not "born in us," rather, they have been created by our people through the intellect, sweat, tears and blood of countless generations. Today, some cultural and spiritual values have become traditions of the nation, such as the blending of patriotism with socialist internationalism and proletarian internationalism. Some values are cultural and spiritual values of the nation that have been maintained, preserved and enhanced; there are also some values of modern times that we have incorporated. However, there are also some areas in which we do not possess traditions demanded by modern times, such as the sense of organization and discipline, scientific precision, the large-scale, industrial, urgent workstyle, etc.

Therefore, we must clarify which values of the nation have become traditions that must be preserved, enhanced and widely disseminated in the new age and which values must be acquired, must be incorporated from among the values of the world and turned into Vietnamese values.

Le Thi: Culture is the sum of the intelligence and the feelings accumulated by man over the ages and is a very diverse and profound phenomenon. As we know, the force that stimulates man to develop his culture is not some random, accidental force, rather, man is inspired to develop his culture as a result of objective needs of his communal life as well as his personal life. And, as Karl Marx said, every creation of man is an object into which man has put himself, is the rendering of himself in the form of an object. By means of practical activities taken to create cultural values, man has put his intellectual power into the form of an object, has turned his thinking into an external object, turned it into something different for the purpose of making his material and spiritual life more beautiful and more complete.

In the course of establishing and developing his culture, man has defined standards for his aspirations, aspirations that were not fulfilled for many ages, that still have not been fulfilled in many nations. These are the universal desires to live in peace, independence, freedom and equality, comfort and happiness and to constantly advance toward the true, the good and the beautiful. Because, regardless of how many unique local or national characteristics cultures might have, cultural ideals still have certain aspects in common and still reflect the character of the times. The special features and the diversity of cultures do not detract from the values that are held in common by all cultures, that are inherent values of man, rather, they enhance and intensify the universal ideological and spiritual values that reside within cultures. This is the base of the cultural intercourse among nations and communities throughout history as well as at present. Inheriting values and developing upon them in a continuous or interrupted manner, in a

stable or unstable manner are the common dialectics of development of the cultures of man. In the course of its unique development, the history of the Vietnamese culture has also reflected this universal law. It inherited traditional cultural values and has always updated these values through the ages. The old and the new, indigenous factors and external factors have struggled violently against each other; at the same time, there has been a coordination with and the acceptance of the new through a process of selection. This selection has permitted the Vietnamese culture to retain its special character throughout the nation's long history while also being an open culture that has always been supplemented by new factors that have made our culture increasingly rich. Generally speaking, the development of Vietnamese culture has been forward, toward the progressive, the beautiful and the harmonious. Today, the fine ideological values of our traditional culture are being raised to a new level in their close relationship with the most progressive ideology of mankind, Marxism-Leninism, which has been combined with our fine ideological values to form the ideology of Vietnamese socialist culture.

The history of the development of each culture indicates the vitality of the community that created it. Vietnamese culture has reflected the desire of the Vietnamese of many ages to live in independence, freedom, peace and happiness. It is impregnated with the feeling of closeness to the country that they worked so hard to build and with the love of one's compatriots, the persons with whom they have shared joys and hardships in building and defending the country. The ideological essence of this culture lies in the love of nature, the spirit of patriotism, the indomitable will to resist foreign aggression, the tradition of unity and charity, the spirit of democracy and equality in village life and the virtue of working diligently to contend with a natural environment that is both rich and harsh.

Vietnamese culture has always been complete in nature and characterized by internal antagonisms. It is not a closed system of special, fixed values, rather, it represents the combination of values that have existed and changed through the ages in accordance with a process of dialectical change. This change has taken two directions:

#### 1. Accepting new factors of mankind's culture.

In the course of its history, Vietnamese culture has enriched itself by incorporating the very best aspects of many of the cultures of Asia, such as Chinese culture, Indian culture and so forth, and the cultures of the West; however, this incorporation of these aspects has not destroyed the character of our own culture. In particular, during the early period of building the country, when we were under the domination of the feudal powers to the north for 1,000 years, the Vietnamese were forced to accept the Han-Duong culture; thus, what was it that enabled the Vietnamese culture to be preserved? How were its traditional ideological values maintained, given greater vitality and prevented from withering away?

To begin with, this was possible because the culture had been established as a culture with its own unique character even before foreign factors were imposed upon it. It has been established, was irreversible and strong, was filled

with vitality, consequently, it was difficult to assimilate our culture. Present day Vietnamese archeological documents prove that the existence and the brilliant development of the Dong Son culture (Thanh Hoa Province) corresponded to the period of prosperity of the first country of Viet Co, the countries of Van Lang and Au Lac during the Bronze Age some 4,000 years ago. Van Lang existed for 20 centuries before coming under foreign domination in 179 B.C.

Secondly, it was because the vitality of the nation of Vietnam had been established under very difficult circumstance, circumstances in which they had to fight to survive; the spirit of autonomy and sovereignty helped us to maintain an extremely flexible attitude concerning the very best aspects of the cultures of other nations and enabled us to take from these cultures fine values with which to supplement, enhance and strengthen our national culture. Love of their birthplace and the spirit of building the fatherland served as beacons lighting the way for the Vietnamese in their numerous contacts with the foreign cultures of the world (the Chinese culture and later the cultures of France and the United States) and allowed them to only select progressive values that conformed with reason and sentiment, primarily with the independent course of development of the fatherland, and to maintain national values while resolutely casting aside foreign, reactionary factors that reduce the dignity of man. And, of the various values that were maintained, the spirit of patriotism is of foremost importance, is the measurement of the other spiritual values. In Vietnam, the destiny of culture has always been closely linked to the destiny of the nation.

Throughout the 10 centuries of domination by the Chinese feudalists, the people of Vietnam resisted Confucianism, which was the official ideology in China and was considered the main tool of spiritual aggression by the enemy oppressors. During the first century of the era of independence of Vietnam (from the 10th to the 14th centuries), Confucianism was unable to gain the dominant position, a position which it achieved later only as a result of the need on the part of the feudalists ruling Vietnam for an effective ideological tool with which to consolidate their power. However, Confucianism only had a significant influence upon the culture of the Imperial Court; the folk culture still vigorously resisted the harsh, inhuman, conservative viewpoints of Confucianism. As a result of their contacts with the Chinese culture, the people of Vietnam learned more about the customs and habits of China and learned to appreciate the famous literary works of China; at the same time, they made use of some of the concepts of Confucianism but changed the content of these concepts. For example, to patriotic Vietnamese Confucian scholars, the Confucian concept of love and duty meant love of the people, not love of man in the abstract, and the duty to fulfill one's obligations to the fatherland, not one's duty to the king, as Confucius taught.

The contact that occurred later in our history between the ancient culture of a feudal Vietnam and the culture of imperialist, aggressor France during the 80 years of French domination was not entirely a forced meeting. In one respect, it was a meeting between East and West. The Vietnamese resisted the clever attempt by the colonialists to revive the most corrupt and backward aspects of traditional Vietnamese culture in order to keep Vietnam in a weakened position and spread within Vietnam a demagogic culture in a vain

attempt to keep Vietnam in the cycle of slavery. Resisting the colonialist slogan of "enlightenment," Vietnamese patriots advocated the policy of modernization, that is, of finding the secrets of the material strength of the enemy in order to defeat them by means of material strength: technical science. We had to search for the ideological base of this science in the rationalism of the technical engineers and the humanism of the renaissance. And, when they discovered the path of national salvation in Lenin and the October Revolution, Vietnamese Marxists exhibited an open spirit: they had found allies in the proletariat and the people of France, in the proletariat and the people of the world and had enriched their own culture by means of the achievements of the culture of mankind.

Generally speaking, although it has had to resist foreign aggression many times and spent many centuries under the yoke of foreign domination, the nation of Vietnam has not practiced xenophobic thinking. This is the mark of an open-minded people who respect the noble heritage of the civilization of the world.

## 2. The birth of the new from the internal development of the Vietnamese culture and as a result of the realities of the struggle waged in production and the social struggle.

To some extent, the act of inheriting old traditions and the acceptance of new values are the results of the struggle between the progressive and the backward during each period of history; at the same time, they are the results of the struggle between the two cultures: the culture of the people and the culture of the ruling class within the nation of Vietnam. Therefore, together with the national nature of Vietnamese culture, we must also discuss the class nature of the various components of the culture.

However, the history of our country has been characterized by the fact that the struggle to liberate the nation was, in many periods of history, a very sharp and pressing struggle, consequently, the class struggle within the nation was relegated to a position of secondary importance. In the face of foreign aggression, the ruling feudal class "tapped the strength of the people" and mobilized them to fight the enemy. In the face of the threat of losing the country, the people of the entire nation tightened their ranks, united with one another and fought the enemy to save the country. Such traditional ideological values as patriotism, charity, unity and so forth have been strongly developed upon and have become the wholesome and fine ideological theme that predominates within Vietnamese culture. One fact in the nature of a law was that whenever the ruling feudal class and their intellectuals joined the people, divorced themselves from the conservative and reactionary thinking of Confucianism and used the traditional classical values of the nation as the ideological theme of campaigns to build and defend the fatherland, they achieved success in their undertaking and Vietnamese culture experienced a stage of brilliant development.

This was precisely the wisdom and intelligence displayed by many patriotic Vietnamese intellectuals, such as Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Du and Nguyen Dinh Chieu, who were close to the people and knew how to utilize the very best aspects of the nation to create immortal cultural values. The famous works of

these persons were the embodiment of our patriotic spirit, indomitable will, profound humanism and love and respect for man.

On the other hand, mention must also be made of the rather tight, closed structure of the Vietnamese village, which prevented the culture of the Imperial Court as well as foreign cultures from strongly infiltrating the laboring masses and caused the traditional factors of the national culture to be preserved; at the same time, the village has been a fortress preserving conservative, narrowminded attitudes.

Generally speaking, the progress of the culture has been closely linked to the progress made by society. Our private agriculture, which has been closely linked to the subsistence economy, and the slow development of the technical sciences have retarded the birth of an industrial culture. For a long time, Vietnamese culture existed and developed on the basis of a low level of development of production forces and the system of private ownership of the instruments of production. Its development was restricted by the feudal system and, later, by the colonial-feudal system.

Le Quy Duc: Traditional spiritual values are a reflection within the consciousness of the Vietnamese of the conditions under which our nation has existed in the various periods of building and defending the country. They are the result of the relationship that has existed between man and nature in the process of man separating himself from the natural realm, conquering nature and compelling nature to serve him. They are also the result of the relationships existing among persons in the processes of transforming nature, transforming society (resisting national oppression and class oppressions) and transforming man himself. These traditional values are the results of these processes and have become the basis upon which man perfects himself and transforms his circumstances to suit his nature. Moreover, they are the moving forces behind these processes and have exerted a tremendous impact in the course of the formation and development of the nation of Vietnam and the character of the Vietnamese. Therefore, due to the needs of the development of history and our own existence, we must inherit traditional spiritual values just as we must inherit the material conditions underlying the existence of the nation; this is a necessary demand of history. As Marx and Engels confirmed: "History is nothing more than the succession of separate generations in which each generation uses the materials, capital and production forces handed down by all of the preceding generations; consequently, each generation accepts the mode of operation handed down to it but under circumstances that have completely changed and, on the other hand, changes the old circumstances by means of an operation that has been totally changed."(4) Of course, "materials," "capital" and "production forces" are not only material values, they are spiritual values as well. In other words, the "materials," "capital" and "production forces" handed down by the preceding generations represent the sum of material and spiritual values that are closely linked to one another, that permeate one another, values which the next generation must use as the foundation for the comprehensive development of their life. This law was stressed by Lenin when he cited the need to cultivate spiritual qualities within the young generation: "The rearing and the education of youths as well as the learning by youths must be based on the materials left to us by the old society. We can only build communism on the

basis of the total knowledge, the organization and the system and by means of the supply of manpower and means left to us by the old society."(5) Thus, in the work of building the socialist spiritual life, inheriting the traditional spiritual values is an objective necessity; at the same time, it represents the fulfillment of the noble objective of the system of socialist collective ownership of the culture, namely, "to create for everyone a rich spiritual life (...) in which each cultural value becomes the property of the people and every condition is created for the people to directly create each cultural value."(6) In the course of establishing the socialist spiritual life, we must "retake possession of" and "redistribute" traditional spiritual values and make them the property of the laboring people. The purpose of this is to create the conditions for the people to directly create cultural values, thereby making socialist spiritual life richer and more diverse. Therefore, we must fully realize the large role that is played by traditional spiritual values in the building of our spiritual life. This was pointed out by our party in the Political Report delivered at the recent 5th Congress of the Party: "At present, our country is building the system of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people; this effort is in keeping with the law of our times and represents our inheriting and enhancing the Vietnamese nation's patriotic and democratic cultural traditions of thousands of years."(7) These traditional spiritual values have a very large and diverse impact upon all fields of social life.

The history of Vietnam has proven that the incorporation of Marxism-Leninism into the spiritual life of Vietnamese society at the start of the 20th century was not only the result of socio-economic antagonisms, but also the result of the demands of the traditional spiritual values of the nation. In the face of the frustration resulting from the national salvation lines based on outmode, backward ideologies and in the face of the historic task that existed, it became evident that we had to update our traditional spiritual values in order to chart the course for the nation. Of course, this demand had to be met by means of positive activities by man in order to transform the entirety of his social life. Later, President Ho confirmed: "At first, it was patriotism, not communism, that caused me to believe in Lenin, believe in the 3rd International. In the struggle, as I studied Marxist-Leninist theory and performed practical work, I gradually came to the understanding that only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers of the world from the yoke of slavery."(8) Thus, patriotism, a noble spiritual value in our national tradition, inspired us and demanded that we accept Marxist-Leninist doctrine, a noble spiritual product of our times, as part of our nation's spiritual life. Marxism-Leninism blended with the nation's spiritual life, brought our traditional spiritual values up to date and laid a premise of a decisive nature for the process of building our socialist spiritual life.

Truong Chinh: What are spiritual values? In my opinion, they are special products of the intellect (intelligence, creativity, ability to think and so forth), sentiment (love, hatred, sadness, joy, compassion, the ability to feel sympathy and so forth) and will (diligence, perseverance, bravery, endurance, sacrifice and so forth). In an individual, these values are expressed in the form of attitudes, style, character, virtues, behavior and actions, which combine to form ethical values; in daily activities, they are expressed as

cleverness, skill, talent, inventions, discoveries, science, technology, literature and art and result in the creation of material and spiritual products, which form cultural values.

Generally speaking, every nation has its own spiritual values. We do not recognize a nation as superior to another nation merely because, under a given set of geographical, historic and social circumstances, certain spiritual values are superior in one nation while other spiritual values are superior in another nation. Consequently, mistakes must not be made when comparing the degree, the character and the special characteristics of the spiritual values of different nations.

In addition, the geographical, historical and social conditions of a nation require thousands of years to change; therefore, the spiritual values created by many consecutive generations also change very little, provided that no major upheavals occur. On the other hand, we must look at the majority of the people, that is the laboring people, the persons who write history, who create material and spiritual products, in order to find spiritual values, because, in a society with classes, the ideology of the ruling class imposes upon the spiritual values of the nation backward, reactionary concepts and ideas that are beneficial to it. This is not to mention the fact that the ruling class does not know how to develop upon the spiritual values of the nation; instead, it limits their display and prevents their development.

The most noteworthy of these spiritual values is patriotism. All we Vietnamese feel a close relationship with our birthplace, with our village or hamlets, with what we commonly call our fatherland. This is a natural, pure and noble feeling which, in normal times, is not displayed in any special way; however, at times when we are far away, we miss our home and, in times of disaster, this feeling becomes an intense, ardent and strong one. In the case of foreign aggression, the spirit of patriotism is the source of our will to fight and kill the enemy, save the country and protect the fatherland. To display our character, we perform glorious deeds despite all hardships and sacrifices.

The spirit of patriotism of the Vietnamese is so intense because it has continuously been challenged from the very first days spent building the country to the present day. The reason for this is that we live beside a large, wealthy and arrogant nation that considers itself to be the center of the world, to be the most gifted nation and considers all other peoples to be "barbarians," as a result of which it subscribes to the thinking of expansionism and sends its forces to commit aggression against others. To our forefathers, all of the Chinese feudal emperors, the Tan, the Han, the Duong, the Tong, the Nguyen, the Minh and the Thanh, were deadly enemies. During the periods of domination by the Han and the Duong, our nation arose in rebellion a total of nine times: the Trung Sisters Uprising (40-43), the Ba Trieu Uprising (248), the Ly Bi Uprising (544-603), the Trieu Quang Phuc Uprising (549), the Mai Thuc Loan Uprising (722), the Phung Hung Uprising (766-791), the Duong Thanh Uprising (819-820), the Khuc Thua Du Uprising (906-907), and the Khuc Thua My Uprising (917-923). One uprising was defeated after another until independence and sovereignty were achieved with the victory of Bach Dang (938) in the 10th Uprising. In subsequent centuries, the "Celestial Court" of

China again sent their troops to invade us: the Tong invaded our country twice (981 and 1076-1077), the Nguyen invaded three times (1258, 1285 and 1287-1288), the Minh invaded once (1407-1426) and the Thanh invaded once (1787). On all seven occasions, our forefathers won great victories. In the 19th century, the fathers and sons of the Nguyen Family again allowed the wolf to enter the house, this time in the person of the French colonialists. During the 80 years of French domination, there were 11 uprisings: the Nam Ky War of Resistance (1861); the Nghe Tinh Scholars Uprising (1874); the Can Vuong Uprising (1885-1898); the Yen The Uprising (1885-1913); the Dong Du Uprising (1904-1909); the Thai Nguyen Uprising (1917); the Yen Bai Uprising (1929); the Nghe Tinh Soviet Uprising (1930-1931); the Nam Ky Uprising (1941); and the Do Luong Uprising (1942). Through the August Revolution in 1945, our people, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, drove off the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But this was not to be the end. We then waged the 9 year (1946-1954) war of resistance against the French followed by the 20 year (1954-1975) war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, in which the leader of the neo-colonialists finally had to admit to defeat. More recently, we retaliated against the Beijing expansionists on the southwestern front (1976-1979) and then on the Sino-Viet border front (1979), where, in the space of only 1 month, they were dealt fatal blows and had to make an "orderly withdrawal."

It can be said that no other nation in the world has been so challenged. Therefore, to we Vietnamese, the spirit of patriotism ranks first on the value chart. This sentiment has transcended the ages, has been upheld and encouraged by every person in every age. It has been an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Vietnamese literature since ancient times.

To win victory, our forefathers had to endure many hardships, had to be persistent and tenacious, had to sacrifice everything, even their lives. All the enemies of Vietnam have been large imperialist powers, have been very wealthy countries with large populations, sophisticated weapons, well trained generals and colonels, malicious schemes and the cruelty of wild beasts. This clearly describes the U.S. imperialists: although they are the imperialist power that possesses the strongest navy and air force within the imperialist camp, possesses very advanced science and technology and is also the cruellest of the imperialists, having spread chemical poisons that destroyed the environment and used coordinate bombing that killed persons en masse, they were not able to conquer us. Our forefathers also had to contend with the most powerful imperialists of their times: the Han imperialists and the Duong, Mong and Nguyen imperialists, who sent their forces throughout Europe and Asia, launching attacks at will. The Minh Dynasty in China has been described as a period of prosperity and the Tong and Thanh Dynasties were less prosperous but, compared to Vietnam, they were still many times stronger. Yet, all of them were soundly defeated by our forefathers, were so soundly defeated that their generals were killed in the very first battles, fled inside bronze drums and "begged to be allowed to withdraw in honor" or threw away their orders and seals, concerning themselves only with their own lives. And, when they met with defeat, they did so rapidly, being unable to withstand our strong counter-offensives for more than 5 or 7 months!

It was this arduous fight that created the conditions for the patriotism of our forefathers to become the moving force behind countless brave, extraordinary and resounding feats and also the source of the brave Vietnamese character, of Vietnamese heroism, of the spirit of viewing death lightly, of rather being the devil of the South than coveting dominance over the North, of "rather dying on our feet than living on our knees" and "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." The majority of Vietnamese heroes have been ordinary persons, ordinary men, women and even children, who possess no special military skills. Today, we can "meet a hero on every street corner." In its long history, the nation of Vietnam has had countless named and unnamed heroes. All of them have possessed the spirit of "daring to die so that the fatherland may live." These deeds have not only been recorded in our history books, they have been recorded on our mountains and rivers as well. From Mong Cai to Cape Ca Mau, there is no locality that lacks historic ruins reminding us of the glorious fights waged by countless generations to win the right to live. Here, we beheaded enemy generals; there, we built fortifications to resist the enemy; over there is a memorial to persons who gave their lives to the country. At the memorials and shrines to these persons, all of which have been constructed at beautiful sites, ceremonies are held each year that attract tens of thousands of persons coming to pay their respects. Also at these sites are some of the most valuable architectural and art projects, projects that are symbols of our talent and intelligence. And, poets have had the honor of helping to propagandize and teach the spirit of patriotism to future generations.

...There is one traditional virtue of the Vietnamese that is very difficult to explain: since antiquity, our forefathers have lived very difficult lives, encountered countless adversities, so many so that one would think that they were not happy, that they could not be happy, yet, they were still very optimistic, still loved life very much, still had confidence in the future and still believed that they could build a more beautiful life. This is the spirit of optimism of a worker. And, only by feeling such happiness is it possible to overcome difficulties and hardships. We should give attention to the fact that folk songs originate in labor, are closely linked to labor and are written by laborers. We shout and sing while working, shout and sing while relaxing and shout and sing on festive occasions, all for the purpose of entertaining ourselves. The Vietnamese shout and sing and often laugh, laugh for the sheer enjoyment of it, for the sheer joy of it. Laughter increases our enjoyment, our joy; a folk ballad explains this propensity to laugh as:

- Man has a mouth and lips
- When sad, he cries
- When happy, he laughs.

Often, when there is nothing to be happy about, we look for something to make us laugh, make up a story to laugh about or make up things that do not occur in reality but are very funny, simply for the purpose of making ourselves laugh:

Roll up the ant's pants and make him laugh  
When he climbs over the pepperwort, beat his pants off!

Or:

When until March

The frog begs the snake to let him go in the field  
The tiger lays down for the pig to lick its fur  
A dozen roses swallow an 80 year old man  
A handful of steamed glutinous rice swallows a 10 year old child  
A drunken chicken swallows a person staggering down the street  
An eel lies still so that the eel pot can swim inside it  
A swarm of locusts goes fishing for carp  
A grain of rice chases the rat inside the basket  
And the sediment chases the stork in the pond.

We must have sincerity in our hearts before we can adopt such an attitude toward life. More profoundly, we must laugh at life, laugh at criticism and attacks. We must laugh at those who are lazy, laugh at persons who are base, laugh at officials who take bribes, laugh at officials who are ostentatious, laugh at greedy, wealthy persons, laugh at persons whose values are false, laugh at that which is decadent and absurd. Vietnamese folk literature is so rich partially because Vietnamese laborers possess this virtue of optimism. Proverbs, folk songs and puns have contributed to Vietnamese laughter, not merely such funny novels and stories as "Trang Quynh," "Trang Tong," and Trang Lon," "Xien Ngo," "Ba Phi" and so forth; contributions to laughter have also been made by paintings that encompass many factors of optimism or cause us to laugh at something, such as the paintings "Tay do Coc," "Dam cuoi Chuot," "Danh ghen," "Choi keo co," "Hung dua" and so forth.

The spirit of optimism helped our forefathers to develop determination in their work, determination in the fight against nature and against the enemy. They endured difficulties and supported an entire society but never became pessimistic about life, even when life became hard and they thought they could endure no longer. The words of the ancient song "Buffalo of ours, tell the other buffalo to go into the field and plow with us..." actually were not words spoken to a buffalo but were words of advice to ourselves. And, the sayings "Let us go into the fields to plow and plant, we may be tired today, but we will be prosperous tomorrow" or "Today the water is silver, tomorrow the rice will be golden" reflect the spirit of optimism of laborers who were confident in the future, confident in the fruits of their labor. The proverb "Better days are ahead" or the words of the folk ballad "Even the highest mountain can be climbed, even the most difficult situation can be overcome" were words of consolation and encouragement spoken at difficult times so that we would continue to work and fight rather than become discouraged. These are the great sentiments handed down to us by our forefathers; it was because we felt these feelings that "our singing drowned out the noise of the bombs," we did not yield to the cruelty of the U.S. imperialists and we won total victory in the end, won a victory that has caused the entire world to admire us.

Nguyen Van Hanh: ...Within the Vietnamese, on the basis of their precious political and ethical qualities of patriotism, democracy and humanism, the characteristics of respect for principles, devotion and duty in life, optimism, love of life and the ability to rapidly adjust in the face of every challenge and complex situation have developed very strongly.

The principles by which the Vietnamese live are patriotism and love of the people; democracy and equality among all persons; sensitivity and loyalty; being grateful to those who serve the country, the nation; respecting the elderly, loving children... The Vietnamese respect the principles and rules of spiritual life and in the life of society, the life of the family and the life of the individual, voluntarily complying with principles has become a beautiful custom. However, this respect for principles has never turned the Vietnamese into people who are dogmatic and rigidly adhere to the teachings in books. It can be said that the Vietnamese do not live by books and are not influenced much by dogmas or regulations that are contrary to nature. They love life and are deeply involved in life; they are optimistic even amidst deprivation and difficulties; they feel that they can and must find solutions to the problems they face in life within life itself. Their fundamental principles are the starting points, the compass, the guidelines needed for them to live life in a comfortable and natural manner but still be the conscientious and responsible members of the national community and mankind. Their respect for principles causes the Vietnamese to feel close to their history, to their traditions, to their collective but does not deprive them of sensitivity or flexibility. Although the Vietnamese respect principles, they implement them in a flexible, not a rigid, manner; they love life but do not live life in a pell-mell fashion; they value the new but do not blindly pursue everything that is new, do not worship that which is foreign nor pattern themselves after foreign countries.

The sense of duty is a principle and the lifestyle of Vietnamese. We respect those persons who live a life of duty and loyalty, who detest ungratefulness and betrayal in relations with the country, with the people, as well as in family relations and relations with friends. Duty is the attitude of living life on the basis of combining reason and sentiment, combining regulations and voluntary action, combining the present and the past and establishing unity between ourselves and others in an inseparable manner. The sense of duty does not tolerate inhumanity, inconsistency, selfishness or pragmatism.

One trait of the Vietnamese character that is very deserving of attention is their equilibrium, is their ability to balance, coordinate and reconcile various areas of their lives, even opposing ones: reason and sentiment, intellect and intuition, thought and action, theory and practice, ethics and philosophy, world outlook and epistemology, the collective and the individual... This ability to establish balance, to achieve coordination has created for the Vietnamese an attitude of calm and optimism in the face of every challenge, with the result that they are both a determined and a gentle people, a people who cannot only deal with different situations, but whose capabilities and cleverness seem to be most clearly evident when they face a challenge or must resolve antagonisms in their lives. To them, every activity is an act of living, everything is a process of change that must be observed and dealt with in the course of development. In one respect, this ability has helped the Vietnamese to quickly discover the truth, especially political truth and the truth regarding major issues faced in the cause of national salvation in order to chart the precise course amidst perilous and complex circumstances and maintain their flexibility and unaffected nature throughout

their several thousand year history of building and defending the country, a history filled with turbulence and the constant ravages and upheavals of war.

However, it has also been because of our activities, primarily to defend the country, maintain life and resolve the towering and pressing problems raised by reality, and because of this need to constantly maintain balance and coordination that we have not yet been able to truly delve into each field as reality has sometimes demanded or as knowledge and science have required. At times, this has become a shortcoming of a universal and prolonged nature, one that has caused difficulties to us in the field of abstract theory, in the development of systematic theories and in the development of the technical sciences. We must be conscious of this problem and make extraordinary efforts before we can resolve it.

Nong Quoc Chan: The cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam consist of many elements. Some elements are typical of all the laboring people of Vietnam. Some elements reflect the character of each nationality within Vietnam.

Patriotism and love of the race are a common element but it also manifests specific, separate elements.

a) Land-country-nation—the Vietnamese fatherland, the crucible of the Vietnamese nationalities has existed, has been formed and developed for 4,000 years. There is a line of poetry which reads "The king of the South resides in the South" and it was Uncle Ho who said: "The Hung Kings performed the service of building the country; we must work together to defend it." Uncle Ho was not only referring to ethnic Vietnamese, he was referring also to all nationalities, especially the ethnic minorities along the border.

The borders of the nation have been developed through the various stages of the nation's history. The consciousness of the members of the various ethnic minorities concerning the nation, concerning the fatherland has been heightened. From the mountain villages being their mountain villages to the fatherland being their fatherland, the ethnic minorities have themselves confirmed their existence within Vietnam.

The order that the nation had under the feudal system and under the colonial-feudal system of bygone years is different from the order of the present day socialist republic. However, every order has possessed the strength to assemble communities and every community has gradually created its own cultural values: how to build villages, citadels and temples, how to build dikes, dams and ditches and how to clear land to raise crops and build houses; the relations among neighbors and the formation of habits, customs, diets, styles of shelter and dress, methods of transportation, education and style of dancing and singing as well as the sentiment of love, marriage, the family, the creation of poems, musical instruments, etc.

b) Love of the race-family-clan-tribe-nationality.

Every nationality has its own folk culture, literature and art.

Since primitive times, each nationality has believed in a totem—an ancestral idol and has considered a certain animal, tree or rock to be its ancestral idol. Consequently, every nationality has a ritual regarding its totem, worships it, adorns it to look like a totem and hands down from one generation to the next tales about its totem.

The most significant of these tales are the ones concerning gourds, of which there are more than 100, birds, snakes, dragon-like monsters and turtles, which have been spread among the Khmu, Laha, Mang, Khang, Tay, Bahnar, Muong and Viet nationalities.

The common theme of the tales about gourds deals with the Great Deluge. According to these tales, the fraternal nationalities within our country experienced a great deluge. Because they had gourds, two persons survived. The next generation, the son of these two persons (a man and a woman) emerged from a gourd.

Tales about birds have been widely disseminated among the Mang, Khmu, Thai, Muong and other nationalities.

The Khmu have 2 dozen families that bear the names of various species of birds: "thrang," Phoenix, "omtitpraga," "chia voi," "cotle," "bong chanh," "ric" and "en."

The Muong nationality has totem tales about such birds as the landrail, the sparrow, the kingfisher, the skylark and so forth.

Many of these tales relate how birds laid eggs, eggs from which the first humans were hatched.

Among the Muong, there is the myth about the birth of humans.

"The earth shook. From below the ground, a rubber tree emerged. The rubber tree oozed sap that became the old woman Da Dan. A bird-woman, she laid two eggs, from which Buom Bac and Buom Bo hatched. These two males mated Nang A and Nang Hai, who bore 10 offspring, the last of whom were the bird Tung and the bird Tot (or the birds Trang, Tro, Ay and Ua). These birds laid hundreds of thousands of eggs. From these eggs hatched every living thing. Among the eggs was one odd egg (either the egg Tieng or the egg Pieng) that was incubated for several years but did not hatch. When the bird Tao Trao (or Reo Ra) sat upon it, the first humans in our country hatched from it."(9)

Can linguists and scholars of ethnology find in the word "Ay" the "au" in Au Co? Can they find a relationship to "Van Lang" in the names of the birds "Klang"(of the Bahnar, M'nong, and Cham) or "Trang"(of the Muong)?

Stylized images of birds appear on the Type 1 bronze drums (the Hego type).

Humans were stylized as birds on the Lac Viet bronze drums.

Whereas Mother Au Co laid 100 eggs within one shell, thereby raising the bird totem to the level of personification, Father Lac Long probably originated in the snake and dragon totems.

The snake-like aquatic animals are considered to be represented by Duong, Ngu, Nguoc and Luong (snakes, serpents and dragons in the Tay language), Mr. Coc (in the Vietnamese language), Pru Dong (in the Khmu language), etc.

The Muong Tribe's tale of the golden turtle tells about the service performed by a turtle by helping people to build houses, build "stilt houses."

In the tale of the golden turtle in "Linh nam chich quai," the Vietnamese helped King An Duong Vuong build cities...

Crepe covers the vanity  
The persons of a country must love one another.

These two lines of folk ballad express our people's patriotism and love of their race.

In their 4,000 year history of building and defending the country, the nationalities in our country, both the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities, have displayed their patriotism by being close to and loving one another as the brothers and sisters of one family.

The principles within the party's nationalities policy of "unity, equality and mutual help" between the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities in order to struggle for the independence and freedom of the country and bring happiness to the people are concrete expressions of patriotism and the love of our race and is a cultural and spiritual value of the peoples of the various nationalities in Vietnam.

The common and the specific elements of the multi-nationality Vietnamese culture are the embodiment of spiritual values, ethical values and lifestyle values that have been formed and developed in the various stage of our history.

The fact that we have in common a Vietnamese fatherland, a socialist social system, a leading communist party and a Marxist-Leninist ideology is an element that must be confirmed in the thoughts, the feelings and the actions of each citizen of the various nationalities in Vietnam.

Besides these common elements, the nationalities policy of the party and the Constitution of the state guarantee and encourage the maintenance and enhancement of the separate elements of the various nationalities. These are:

- The spoken and written languages of the nationalities;
- The literature and art of the nationalities;
- The fine factors in the customs and habits of each nationality;
- The special character and color of each nationality.

Honesty, a simple lifestyle, diligence and a sense of community, democracy and collectivity; confidence, loyalty, trust and fulfilling promises; hating lying, deception, flattery, false values and so forth very much; all of these virtues can be considered to be spiritual values, ethical values and daily values in the culture of the various nationalities within our country.

Patriotism and love of the race are a fundamental value within the cultural and spiritual lives of the nationalities within Vietnam. However, the patriotism and the love of race of the peoples of the various nationalities within our country today are not the old patriotism and love of race. They have been and are closely associated with socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit. Despite this change, patriotism and love of their race are the essence, are the overriding character of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam.

Nhuan Vu: A war between hostile forces occurs within a specific space and time. In their wars to save and defend the country, our army and people have fought within the territory of our country and at a time when the enemy had not been driven from the country.

It was against this background that our forefathers used space and time to our advantage, considering them to be two objective factors which, together with subjective factors, formed the strength of the entire country.

Even when they were as strong as the Mong Nguyen imperialists, the enemy only sent an expeditionary army numbering several tens of thousands of men to attack our country. When they crossed our country's border, the distance between themselves and their country gradually increased. They left their "living space" and entered a foreign space in which they had to resolve numerous new problems, such as conducting combat operations, occupying positions, establishing resupply lines, acclimating themselves to the weather, climate and so forth. Although their forces were large, as they advanced more deeply into our country, they deteriorated from "concentrated" forces to "decentralized" forces and sometimes had troops at stationary positions and troops on the move because they were forced to spread their forces among many different places in order to protect their vital lines of communication and resupply and occupy the cities. As a result of suffering casualties in combat, falling ill because they were not used to the "swamp gas" of the South and being far from home, both their formation and their morale were shattered.

Because they have fought in their own land, our army and people have been familiar with the streams, hilltops, trails, rivers, tidewaters and so forth. As a result, our forefathers were able to make our "land of the living" the "land of death" for the enemy. The talented coordination of human factors and the terrain and the close coordination between forces and terrain caused an evolution to occur in the comparison of forces, making us the stronger, not the weaker, force in order to win victory over the enemy. From Chi Lang, Bach Dang and the Nhu Nguyet River to Dong Bo Dau, Tot Dong, Chuc Dong, Dong Quan, Thang Long and so forth, our army and people took and maintained the initiative in using the space, the terrain of the fatherland to annihilate the forces of the enemy. Our forefathers made very flexible use of each bit of land within the country, from its cliffs and clumps of trees to its tidewaters as special weapons in order to kill the enemy. The same was done in the capital of the country; when the Nguyen Army and the Thanh Army occupied Thang Long and arrogantly assumed that they had total victory within their grasp, they were "smashed to pieces" at the very time they were asked by us to "spend the night."

Even in the time of the two Trung Sisters, space was a factor, as seen in the appeal "to arise as one," which encompassed all "sixty-five cities and districts," that is, the entire territory of our country at that time. Wherever aggressor forces have appeared in our country, they have been attacked by us. Thousands of pieces of "deadly ground" have been put together to form one vast "deadly ground" in which northern aggressor armies have been trapped, even ones that have numbered more than one-half million men, such as when the Nguyen Army invaded our country for the second and third times. Thus, although their forces were large, they were dispersed into many fragments and became small forces located at many different sites.

Our forefathers made very flexible use of the factor of space. Depending upon the circumstances, the conditions and the comparison of forces at each point in time, we used the terrain of the fatherland to win victory over the enemy on the border, in the midlands or within the capital Thang Long.

As regards the factor of space, our forefathers attached very much importance to closely linking the building of the country to the defense of the country. Only when the potentials of the national economy are abundant is it possible to strengthen the nation's defenses. During the Ly and Tran Dynasties, the agricultural economy of our country was unable to meet the needs of our army and people for weapons, equipment and food in the wars of resistance against the Tong and the Nguyen. Our forefathers made every effort to seize the initiative and use the country's territory to our advantage, not only in terms of the country's terrain, but with special importance attached to the country's natural resources. The wealth within the fatherland has been a factor in the strength of the entire country, a factor that we have had to seize and use to support the liberation of the nation and the defense of the fatherland.

In the second and third wars of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army, our people in the localities that were invaded by the enemy fully complied with the resistance war order of the Tran Imperial Court: "All districts of the country that are invaded by the enemy must fight to the death; if their strength is not equal to that of the enemy, they are permitted to withdraw to the mountainous jungles but may not surrender!" Therefore, when their fleet of resupply ships commanded by Truong Van Ho was destroyed by our navy commanded by Tran Khanh Du in the battle of Van Don, the expeditionary army of Thoat Hoan faced a food crisis that it could not overcome. Wherever they went, even when they occupied the cities, including the capital Thang Long, they found themselves in a deserted place because the people had fled, taking their belongings and their food with them.

The "empty gardens, empty homes" plan appeared at a very early date in Vietnamese military art.

Aggressor armies always want to expand the amount of area that is under their control with a view annexing our entire country. However, when they have encountered the strength of the entire country of Vietnam everywhere, the territory that they have occupied has shrunken and become a chain around their legs, which has stopped their progress and tied them down, turning them into targets awaiting punishing blows by our army and people from all four directions.

Having achieved firm control over the terrain of the fatherland, the Vietnamese have also taken the initiative in using the factor of time under the skies of Vietnam in order to kill the enemy.

When they have sent troops to invade our country, the expeditionary armies of the enemy have moved further away from their rear bases and consumed a certain portion of the supplies brought with them with each passing day. Attacking quickly and winning victory quickly are essential requirements of aggressor armies.

As for ourselves, once favorable conditions had developed, our forefathers resolutely seized the opportunity to quickly destroy the forces of the enemy, to create a situation in which our people inflicted increasingly heavy losses of manpower and materiel upon the enemy as they advanced 1 more mile into the territory of our country and remained for 1 more day within our country.

Ngo Quyen and Le Hoan used time to destroy the Nam Han Army and the Tong Army during the first few days after they invaded our country.

The Tay Son Partisan Army allowed the Thanh Army to occupy Thang Long for more than 1 month in order to create the opportunity to destroy them in the space of only a few days during the Ky Dau Tet.

In the hands of our forefathers, the factor of time had a remarkable effect in our "thunder and lightning" method of fighting, a method that struck fear into the hearts of the enemy, that astonished them and made them feel that "our generals were coming down from the sky, our troops were emerging from the ground itself."

We frequently notice that our forefathers knew how to wait and took the initiative in using time as a weapon to wear down both the material forces and the morale of aggressor armies.

Our strongholds are not the space behind fortress walls or within deep trenches, rather, they are the space of the entire country. For this reason, when enemy forces have advanced deep within our country and occupied our abandoned cities, they have immediately found themselves surrounded. The Nguyen, Minh and Thanh Armies found themselves "in prison, awaiting trial"; in particular, all the cities occupied by the Minh Army were besieged by the Lam Son Partisan Army.

Our forefathers also attached importance to seizing the initiative in the use of time and winning the advantage in terms of time for ourselves, thereby putting the enemy on the defensive and at a disadvantage.

As for the enemy, as wars have dragged on, as they have encountered increasing difficulties at home and abroad, as their forces on the battlefield have become increasingly weak and the morale of their troops has declined, they have become more confused about how to use time.

As for ourselves, by taking the initiative in the use of time, our forefathers, regardless of whether they could attack quickly and win victory quickly or had to wage a protracted fight, always "turned time into a force."

In the second war of resistance against the Tong and the wars of resistance against the Nguyen, the Minh and the Thanh, our forces used time to build both their troop strength and morale, as a result of which they comparison of forces shifted to our favor. When, on the basis of this shift, the factor of time was coordinated with the factors of forces and space and placed us in a position stronger than that of the enemy, our forefathers created and seized opportunities in the way described by Nguyen Trai: "When time and position are on our side, that which we have heretofore lacked becomes available, that which is small becomes large; when time and position are not in our favor, our strengths become weaknesses, a calm situation becomes a dangerous situation; this change can occur in the blink of an eye"(letter to Vuong Thong in "Quan trung tu menh tap").

These were the opportunities that led to the glorious victories won at Chi Lang and Bach Dang, on the Nhu Nguyet River defense line, in Dong Quan, Thang Long, etc.

At these places and times selected by us, the strength of the position of our forces, in terms of both space and time, was increased many times and the strength of the enemy's forces was reduced many times, thereby causing a leap forward in the comparison of forces to occur. At these times, our army and people delivered strong, lightning-like, unexpected and decisive blows that annihilated the enemy and brought the war to a victorious conclusions.

The fighting method of "seizing opportunity and delivering a lightning-like blow" emerged very early in Vietnamese history. Ngo Quyen and Le Hoan employed this talent at timing at Bach Dang and Chi Lang; Tran Quoc Tuan used it at Bach Dang; Le Loi and Nguyen Trai used it at Chi Lang and Xuong Giang; and Nguyen Hue employed it in Thang Long. The strength that was put together in order to win victory over the enemy in anywhere from a few hours to a few days at a number of given sites was a product symbolizing the strength built by the entire country in the process of preparing for and carrying out uprisings and wars.

The tactic of "sending the entire country into battle," which represents the essence of Vietnamese intelligence and is a unique tradition in Vietnamese military art, has been inherited and developed upon, has been given new meaning and raised to a new pinnacle by our party.

Our party has led the nation to victory after victory, from the August uprising and the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists to the two wars waged on the southwestern and northern borders of our country against Chinese expansionism and hegemony to protect our fatherland.

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party has build the combined strength of the entire country on the basis of the collective ownership of the laboring people, on the basis of socialism. This is the complete strength of the entire country, is a strength that has been built with a view toward carrying out the slogan: "Everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Pham Van Dong: "Our Fatherland, Our People, Our Cause and Artists," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p 131.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 53.
3. To Huu: "Revolutionary Life and Literature and Art," Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 157.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 299.
5. K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin: "On Youth," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 135.
6. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 55-56.
7. The Proceedings of the 5th Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, p 94.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 794.
9. See: "The Literary History of Vietnam," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 79.

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## COLLEGE AND VOCATIONAL MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 52-57

[Article by Le Van Giang]

[Text] The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out some very important facts concerning education, in general, and the work of the college and vocational middle school sector, in particular. Besides reconfirming what was stated in preceding resolutions and confirming the need to implement these resolutions more fully, the directives of the 5th Congress of the Party concerning educational work contain many new and important points that concretize and amend or revise long-held viewpoints or guidelines concerning education. The concretization and amendment or revision of these viewpoints and guidelines are demanded by the new situation and tasks and are a demand that we face in analyzing the good and bad experiences in education in the recent stage, which began when the entire country victoriously completed the task of liberating the nation and reunifying the fatherland, especially during the past 6 years.

Gaining a thorough understanding of and fully adhering to these new directives of the 5th Congress are of extremely important significance to the college and vocational middle school sector in overcoming the difficulties that are being encountered and correctly resolving many pressing and basic problems that face the sector, especially over the next 10 years.

1. "We must develop education in a positive and steady manner in stages consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy."(1)

Over the past 30 years and more, our system of education, including the college and vocational middle school sector, has made major contributions to the revolution through the training of the young generation, the training of the corps of new intellectuals, through raising the cultural level of the country and by building the country's scientific and technological potentials. These achievements mark a fundamental change in the history of our people's spiritual life and have been closely linked to the leadership provided by the party, to the extraordinary efforts made by the people.

However, in the course of developing education, besides tremendous achievements, imbalances have gradually appeared between the requirements of educational development and the ability to insure that this development is carried out smoothly. This imbalance is the imbalance between the development of education and the development of the economy; on the other hand, it is the imbalance between the forms and measures employed to develop education (which includes such matters as the structure of education system, the methods employed to organize and manage the school network and so forth) and the limited amount of manpower and material we have to invest in this development.

This imbalance is causing us to encounter very many difficulties in all areas of operation of the college and vocational middle school sector. If this imbalance is not corrected, it will reduce the returns from education (that is, limit the role played by education in supporting the revolution) and might cause the sector itself to not make progress and might even cause it to decline in one area or another.

To correct this imbalance, we cannot simply rely upon increased investments in order to continue the development of education, as we have been doing for quite some time, rather, we must redefine the relationship between economic development and the development of education in such a way that educational development is consistent with the development of the economy and the rate of educational development is based on the rate of development of the economy, in general, and each economic sector, in particular (with different rates of development for the different education sectors: colleges, middle schools, trade training schools and basic general schools). We have done this in the past but we must now calculate and redefine the rate of development to be consistent with present requirements and capabilities.

On the other hand, in order to correct the imbalance mentioned above, we must also redefine the structure of our education system so that it is more consistent with reality, with our requirements and capabilities, in order to achieve the objective of mobilizing as much as possible of what the country and the economy have and utilizing it in the most efficient manner possible in order to develop education. Here, the matters that must be defined and correctly resolved are: the types of schools, the types of training objectives and the forms of training; the recruitment of students and the distribution and utilization of graduates; the replanning of the school network; the deployment, reorganization and training of the corps of instructors; the coordination of education with scientific research and productive labor; and the implementation of the guideline "the central level and the locality working together, the state and the people working together." Only in this way is it possible to continue to develop education in a positive and steady manner. Only in this way is it possible to avoid the two deviations that can occur in the face of the imbalance that the education sector is now experiencing. One is the practice of only seeing the capabilities that exist and being unable to decide whether to wait to develop education or demand that it be developed, with the result that no decision is made and education is developed in a passive manner. This is a method of working that is not positive, that is not based on the requirements of the country. The second deviation is that of only seeing the requirements that exist, not balancing them with actual capabilities and then continuing to

develop education at the old rate, a rate that has been necessary over the past 30 years but which, over the past several years, has no longer been consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the country in the new stage.

Thus, the guideline that education be developed in a positive and steady manner reflects the dialectical relationship between requirements and capabilities, between education and the economy, between the structure of the educational system and the ability of the country to invest in education. This relationship changes during each period of time, consequently, we must redefine this relationship as well as the various measures employed to organize implementation to correspond to each specific stage of development.

These instructions within the resolution of the 5th Party Congress provide important amendments and adjustments to the guideline of developing education in a manner consistent with the special characteristics of the new stage.

## 2. "Making every effort to improve the quality of education."(2)

We should understand the matter of developing education as a whole, that is, as encompassing both quality and quantity.

As regards the relationship between these two important aspects of education, the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, after pointing out the need to "build schools of reasonable size," instructs us to "make every effort to improve the quality of education."

The different way in which the quantitative and qualitative aspects of education are dealt with is also an important amendment and adjustment to the guidelines adopted in the past for the development of education.

The quality of education is always the foremost concern of our party and state. However, in the previous stage, due to the requirements and the special characteristics of our country at that time, we had to attach equal importance to quantity and quality; at certain times and places, we had to temporarily insure that quantitative requirements were being met and then, on this basis, endeavor to gradually improve the quality of the education. From now on, we must focus our efforts on improving the quality of education, generally speaking, throughout the country. We can no longer attach equal importance as we did in the past to the task of improving the quality of education and the task of expanding the educational system (except in a few special areas).

This change is necessary partially because, generally speaking, throughout the country, except in a number of units, the necessary number of scientific and technical cadres has virtually been provided through the efforts that have been made in education over the past several decades; there is no longer a serious shortage of cadres and more than a few concerns have arisen concerning the wasteful utilization of scientific and technical cadres; on the other hand, due to the imbalance between requirements and capabilities and a series of other objective reasons, the quality of education has been "seriously

declining" over the past several years and continues to do so. This is "the largest problem we face at this time."

Although the decline in the quality of education is a universal phenomenon that is a common concern to the entire education sector, the seriousness of this decline has not been the same at all places, on all levels or in all areas of the quality of education. Most deserving of concern is the fact that the motivation, the attitude, the responsibility and the ambition to learn on the part of a rather large percentage of our students at many places and on many levels have markedly and continuously declined compared to previous years and this has had a strong impact upon the other aspects of the quality of education. We must also mention the shortages of material and technical bases at many schools and many other reasons that have caused the quality of education to decline. However, all of these causes take their final form in a decline in the desire on the part of the majority of students to learn. The words of harsh criticism of the party at the 5th Congress concerning this matter are extremely important and must be fully understood by everyone, beginning with the management cadres of the education sector.

Of course, in order to improve the quality of education, we must have a firm grasp of the viewpoints of our party concerning quality. Our party's viewpoint is the viewpoint of comprehensive quality, of considering quality to be an entity in which the factors of ideology and soul, knowledge, skill, mastery and a wholesome body have an impact upon one another. This is the historic view of quality, a view that examines quality against the background of the specific conditions that exist during each stage of development and evaluates quality on the basis of how consistent it is with the requirements of the country, how it helps to resolve the problems being raised by reality during each period, within each area and in each field of work.

Endeavoring to raise the level of quality is a complex and weighty task in education at this time. This task demands that we take urgent measures to stop or limit the decline in the quality of education and prepare basic measures for gradually improving the quality of education and raising it to a level commensurate with the requirements of the tasks of building and protecting the fatherland in the new stage.

### 3. "Carrying out the reform of education in a positive and steady manner."(3)

The situation surrounding education, in particular, and the country's situation, in general, over the past several years have given us a deeper understanding of the task of educational reform. This task is becoming a task of an increasingly pressing and fundamental nature.

One characteristic of our education situation at this time is that the majority of the problems that must be solved are both pressing problems that demand action on our part and basic problems because they touch upon the major guidelines and the long-range prospects of the revolution and demand that we conduct thorough research and carefully consider our options in order to establish a suitable policy.

These problems are many but they revolve around one, overriding problem, namely, the need to create a new balance between quantity quality in education and create a new suitability between the development of education and the requirements and capabilities of the country, of the economy. Only by resolving this problems is it possible for education to continue to play a major role.

To resolve such pressing and basic problems, we must take two types of measures: pressing measures to promptly deal with these problems and basic measures to deal with them in a thorough manner. The first type must be taken immediately but will only have a limited effect, only have the effect of "putting out the fire." The second type must be researched in detail, must be implemented gradually through pilot projects and then gradually broadened in scope; however, once they have been fully implemented, they will reverse the situation.

The reform of education that we must carry out consists of a system of measures of the second type mentioned above designed to thoroughly resolve the pressing as well as the fundamental problems being faced in our educational activities. This reform program is not and cannot be a program that is divorced from or far above the requirements of the country in this new stage.

In this significance, we must actively carry out the reform of education because if we do not define and implement a system of measures for making basic improvements, education cannot move forward and might even stand still or regress. We must overcome the attitudes of indecisiveness, of skepticism and a lack of urgency that exist at some agencies and among some cadres concerning educational reform.

The reform of education involves the implementation of a system of basic measures; therefore, in the guidance provided by the education sector, we must establish close coordination between preparing for and gradually carrying out the reform of education and defining and promptly implementing pressing measures to be taken.

#### 4. Combating conservatism and slowness, putting an end to subjective, impetuous actions.

The 5th Congress of the Party criticized the conservatism and slowness as well as the impetuosity and subjectivism with which we have worked in the recent past. The congress directed our attention to the need to oppose and overcome these deviations in the years ahead because they are the cause of very many difficulties and serious shortcomings that should have been avoided. This observation can also be correctly applied to the situation of the college and vocational middle school sector.

In the new stage, the situation and our tasks are very much different than they were in the preceding stage and demand that we change many of the policies, measures and methods employed in the past that were suited to the old situation and our old tasks but which are no longer suitable. Being slow to discover those places where suitability no longer exists, discovering these places but lacking the determination to make changes and making changes but

satisfying oneself with limited, temporary changes of a patchwork nature, all of these are manifestations of conservatism and slowness, manifestations of an attitude of irresponsibility and a lack of zeal in one's work, a lack of sensitivity to the new.

Conversely, in the face of the tremendous requirements of the country, the maladies of subjectivism and impetuousness easily cause us to confuse long-range and immediate goals, skip stages, not take into consideration the actual conditions that exist during each stage and not steadfastly prepare the conditions needed to perform in the next stage those tasks that cannot be fully completed in this stage. In the face of the pressing demands of our work, subjectivism and impetuousness can also cause us to confuse thorough measures that must be implemented gradually with timely measures that only have a limited effect, as a result of which implementation is hastily carried out without conducting detailed research, without making preparations and without gradually taking major corrective measures when necessary.

Conservatism and slowness as well as subjectivism and impetuousness exacerbate the difficulties we face and cause the imbalances that have occurred to become increasingly sharp. These two shortcomings provide the conditions needed for the growth and development of each other, that is, impetuousness and conservatism give rise to conservatism and slowness when problems are encountered; prolonged conservatism and slowness give rise to impetuousness and subjectivism.

The "positive" and "steady" guideline set forth by the 5th Congress for educational work will have the effect of preventing the two types of maladies mentioned above: the purpose of being "positive" is to combat conservatism and slowness; the purpose of being "steady" is to prevent subjectivism and impetuousness.

##### 5. Thoroughly understanding the nature of the sharp struggle between the two ways of life in the new stage.

"We are building socialism under international circumstances that are undergoing complex changes and in a situation at home in which many serious difficulties are being encountered and the struggle between socialism and capitalism is a sharp struggle."

In the recent past, "full attention has not been given to teaching party members and the masses about the struggle between the two ways of life." This observation by the party is totally consistent with the realities of our country's life over the past several years and is of extremely important significance to the persons engaged in educational work.

The task of the college and vocational middle school sector is to train a corps of cadres who are capable of creatively applying science and technology for the purpose of resolving the problems raised by the realities of the revolution. These are the realities involved in the performance of the two strategic tasks of building socialism and protecting the fatherland and the realities of the two struggles: the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the struggle against the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists.

If our scientific and technical cadres as well as our military and political cadres are not provided with firm guidelines in the face of the realities of these sharp struggles, not only will their contributions be limited, but they, themselves, will face the danger of falling by the wayside and degenerating as well. This is not merely a theoretical precaution, rather, such has actually occurred among some of our cadres of the various types.

The task of our colleges and vocational middle schools is to contribute as much as possible to cultivating within the scientific and technical cadres now being trained at schools an unswerving revolutionary stand in this sharp struggle. Strictly speaking, we have relaxed our efforts over the past several years at many places in this important task of the colleges and vocational middle schools, which is one of the reasons why the quality of education has seriously declined. The task mentioned above must not only be carried out in the political lessons taught in classes, but must be carried out in all activities of the school as well. For this reason, we must maintain and constantly enhance the socialist nature of our schools.

#### 6. The targets of the college and vocational middle school sector during the next 10 years.

The tasks of the college and vocational middle school sector during the next 10 years can be envisioned as follows:

Between now and 1985, we must temporarily maintain the sector at roughly the size it is now (within the sector, some components might decrease in size while a number of sectors that provide training within a number of localities, such as the mountains, the ethnic minority areas and the Mekong Delta, the collective sector, the on-the-job training sector, the after college training sector and the post-graduate sector, might increase); prompt measures must be taken to limit the difficulties that are now being encountered and stop the decline in the quality of education. We must make active preparations for and implement the basic measures in a steady fashion, primarily those concerning the reform of education. Between 1985 and 1990, we will widely and comprehensively implement the basic measures mentioned above with a view toward improving the quality of education and preparing the conditions needed to continue to gradually and steadily expand the scale of education.

In the process of making such improvements and carrying out this reform (improvement and reform will be interposed: prior to 1985, we will concentrate primarily on making improvements and preparing for the reform pilot project while after 1985, we will concentrate primarily on carrying out the reform of education), we must always keep abreast of the political, economic and social tasks of the country, such as developing agriculture, building the industrial-agricultural structure, transforming and strengthening production relations, protecting the fatherland and so forth, in order to guide the colleges and middle schools in supporting the country when performing their two functions, one being to train cadres and the other being to conduct research, conduct scientific experiments and engage in productive labor.

By achieving the targets mentioned above, the college and vocational middle school sector will truly enter a new stage in the late 1980's, a stage characterized by a new and higher level of development, both in size and quality, in potentials and contributions compared to the sector's development over the past 30 years, which were a ground-breaking stage marked by years and months of heroism and hardship and a deserving sense of pride in our party's and our people's history of building and defending the country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 56.
2. Ibid., p 56.
3. Ibid., p 52.

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"THE DRAGON OF ANNAM" EXPOSES THE TRAITOROUS NATURE AND THE TOWERING CRIMES OF BAO DAI

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 82 pp 58-70

[Article by Pham Khac Hoe]

[Text] Editorial Note: in France recently, a book was published in the French language entitled "The Dragon of Annam"("Le Dragon d'Annam")\*, the author of which was Bao Dai. As everyone knows, Bao Dai was the last king of the Nguyen feudal court that was abolished by the August Revolution. In August, 1945, as a result of the pressures of the times, Bao Dai abdicated and turned over the seals of his office to the revolution. Although he was treated in a lenient and humanitarian manner, Bao Dai only supported the revolution for a brief time; he then fled to join Chiang Kai-shek and later returned to join his old bosses, the French colonialists. After the French colonialists were kicked out of South Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, Bao Dai went to France to live the life of an exile.

"The Dragon of Annam" that has been published in the name of Bao Dai contains many brazen distortions of recent events in the history of Vietnam.

Mr. Pham Khac Hoe, who once held the position of prime minister in the cabinet of the Imperial Court in Hue and who witnessed and participated in many of the events described by Bao Dai in "The Dragon of Annam," wrote this article to expose Bao Dai's distortion of these historic events.

We hereby present this article by Mr. Pham Khac Hoe to our readers.

Since NHAN DAN Newspaper printed in its 19 August 1982 edition the article entitled "The Beam and the Turning Point in the Life of Bao Dai," in which it was reported that Bao Dai's memoirs entitled "The Dragon of Annam," had been printed in the French language in Paris, many persons have asked me many questions about this book.

I view it as my main responsibility to briefly describe a number of historic events in which I participated or which I witnessed, events that have been brazenly distorted by Bao Dai. On this basis, I shall expose the traitorous and malicious nature of Bao Dai through his boastful words.

"The Dragon of Annam" consists of five parts. However, the purposes of this article are limited to those described above, consequently, I will skip over Part I entitled "Ancient and Present Vietnam" and go directly to Part II, which is entitled "The Emperor of Annam."

In this section of the book, there are two events that are very brazenly distorted: "the granting of independence by the Japanese" and "Bao Dai's abdication."

### 1. The Granting of Independence by the Japanese

Bao Dai relates these event generally as follows: at 1100 hours on 11 March 1945, a Japanese who spoke fluent French requested an audience with him. The man requesting the audience was Ambassador Yokoyama, an envoy of the Emperor of Japan; he informed Bao Dai that Japan had usurped France's right to rule the region and that he had the mission that day to grant independence to Vietnam.

Bao Dai immediately expressed surprise and did not want to accept independence because as far as Japan was concerned, the Japanese government had, for many years, considered Cuong De to be the legitimate representative of the Annamese throne; as for Bao Dai, he was "close to the people, not close to the throne." However, the Japanese emissary stated: at present, only Bao Dai "represented the tradition, the hopes of all Vietnamese youths" and was "the only person to whom the independence of Vietnam could be delivered"; therefore, the Japanese government was very anxious for the king to approve of this independence by means of an official act. At this point, Yokoyama handed a document to Bao Dai and left. Bao Dai had reliable information that Japan would be defeated and the allies would win victory, consequently, he spent the entire afternoon thinking and carefully deliberating every aspect of the matter before deciding to convene, on that very evening, a meeting of his secret council, which consisted of key members of the royal court, the princes and ministers, in order to reach agreement concerning the matter. The meeting resulted in a declaration of independence signed by Bao Dai and six ministers. On the morning of the following day, 12 March, Bao Dai summoned Ambassador Yokoyama to deliver the declaration of independence to him and discuss ways to implement this independence. Later, when Pham Quynh reported to Bao Dai on the reactions within the secret council and the questions and fears of some persons concerning the king, he forthrightly instructed Pham Quynh: "Tell them to stop all their backbiting and scheming. I am the emperor. They should not forget this fact. If I should abdicate someday, there will no longer be a country of Annam."

On 19 March, Bao Dai informed Pham Quynh of his decision to personally assume all government responsibilities, as a result of which Pham Quynh requested the resignation of the entire cabinet.

By means of the passage presented above, Bao Dai attempted to deceive the reader into thinking that he always placed the interests of the people above everything else. Consequently, he would surely no longer be a lackey, rather, he was determined to seize independence, to be independent in everything, and this seizing of power led to many results about which he brags in subsequent passages.

What actually occurred at that time?

To begin with, the meeting held on 11 March to declare independence was only attended by Bao Dai, six ministers and myself. And, it was a meeting that was totally controlled by Pham Quynh. He convened the meeting, he presented a draft of the declaration of independence that had already been written and he was the only one to talk during the meeting, in fact, he talked and laughed incessantly. The king and the other gentlemen who were in attendance merely nodded their heads in agreement or uttered a few words of praise about Pham Quynh.

On the next day, 12 March, Bao Dai instructed me to draft a decree appointing Pham Quynh as the representative of the independent government of Vietnam in its relations with the Supreme Counsellor of Japan and the other Japanese officials. However, I advised Bao Dai to not make use of Pham Quynh's services any more if he truly wanted to be a king of the people, of the country and clearly explained to him my reasons for this advice. Our conversation lasted for more than one-half hour. In the end, Bao Dai said: "Let us appoint Pham Quynh on a temporary basis to facilitate liaison with Japan and we will see what happens later on."

Thus, I immediately drafted an order (which was a form of document lower than a decree) temporarily assigning to Pham Quynh the responsibility of maintaining liaison between the government of Vietnam and the Japanese authorities and took it to Bao Dai to be signed.

On 14 March, I met with Ton Quang Phiet (1) to discuss the events that were taking place and found that he was all for toppling Pham Quynh and encouraging good persons to establish a new government.

On the morning of the 15th, I met separately with the two ministers within the secret council that had the best reputations, Bui Bang Doan and Ung Uy. Both of these gentlemen advised me to clearly show the king the decadent and dangerous nature of Pham Quynh and promised that they would encourage the entire secret council to resign.

On the evening of the 15th, with the consent of Bao Dai, I invited Huynh Thuc Khang to meet with the king to discuss affairs of state but Huynh declined my invitation.

On the morning of the 16th, I reported to Bao Dai on the meetings mentioned above, emphasizing Huynh's refusal to accept my invitation and calling Bao Dai's attention to the need for a specific gesture to indicate that he was truly a king of the people, of the country in order to assemble talented

persons; Bao Dai thought for a moment and then said: "We will do something about that later."

On the morning of the 17th, I entered Bao Dai's office and found that he was already at his desk. As I approached his desk, I saw on it a piece of paper on which there were several lines of Bao Dai's very large handwriting. The king handed the piece of paper to me and said: "Here, use these thoughts to draft a decree."

I took the piece of paper and became increasingly shocked as I read what Bao Dai had written: "Henceforth, the king will hold all power and the political system will be based on the slogan 'the people are first.'"

How strange!!! I had never seen Bao Dai write any official document on his own! All of the pronouncements made by Bao Dai in official documents had been written by cabinet members and presented to Bao Dai for his examination. If he agreed (as he usually did), they copied the original just as it was written and signed their names to the copy; the original had to be immediately burned in their presence. This was the greatest state secret of them all!

Having dealt with this odd person on a daily basis, I could not help but ask myself: who was it that encouraged Bao Dai to assume all power and, in particular, to adopt the slogan "the people are first." I was unable to answer these two questions until Tran Trong Kim was exposed as a lackey of the Japanese: the instigator was Yokoyama, a person who knew that Confucianism had been used for many centuries as a very good tool for enslaving the Vietnamese. At the time that I was handed the paper, however, I still believed that "I had steered Bao Dai down the right path" and enthusiastically drafted Decree number 1 dated 17 March 1945, which consisted of four main points:

1. The king assumed all power.
2. The new political system would be based on the slogan "the people are first."
3. Talented persons who were worthy of the fatherland were to be assembled to form a government.
4. Policies consistent with the aspirations of the people would be promulgated.

This decree caused Mr. Bui Bang Doan and Mr. Ung Uy to encourage the resignation of the entire cabinet with even greater enthusiasm. Two days later, on 19 March, all six cabinet members requested an audience with the king and resigned, thereby opening the way for the birth of the Tran Trong Kim cabinet on 17 April 1945. However, in less than 1 month, the many fine hopes that I had pinned on the "people are first" decree began to go up in smoke.

1. As regards the king taking all power unto himself, in only 3 weeks after he had assumed the position of prime minister, Tran Trong Kim managed to place beside Bao Dai as an advisor "his dear friend" Nguyen Duy Quang, a well known

socialite who had a very beautiful wife and belonged to one of the wealthiest families in all of Vietnam at that time. As a result, Bao Dai went back to indulging his passions for gambling, women and hunting while public matters were handled by the cabinet under the command of the Japanese.

2. As regards the slogan "the people are first," on 26 May 1945, when I directed Tran Trong Kim's attention to an article entitled "The People Abused" printed in VIETNAM TAN BAO Newspaper on 25 May, which dealt with a scheme by a number of well known persons to make money for themselves through the distribution of rice to starving families, Tran Trong Kim gave me the following lesson concerning the slogan "the people are first": these three words that were spoken by Manh Tu must be understood in accordance with the Confucian principle: "The people are powerful because they do, not because they know what to do." That is, the people could only obey words that they could not read!

3. As regards the assembling of talented persons, after 3 months of participating in the cabinet, many ministers asked to resign and this led to the entire cabinet submitting resignations. Tran Trong Kim, who assumed the responsibility for putting together a new cabinet, urgently invited many persons from north, central, and south Vietnam to join the cabinet but no one responded and even the persons present in Hue at the time resigned.

4. As regards the promulgation of policies consistent with the aspirations of the people. Immediately after fascist Germany surrendered unconditionally, Tran Trong Kim proclaimed: "This defeat will not reduce our determination to help Japan wage the fight until total victory is one and Greater East Asia is established..."

The truth of the matter was clear. Yet, Bao Dai still insists on bragging about what he accomplished. For example, when recounting that Yokoyama told him "the emperor has issued a ceasefire order and, from now on, Nam Ky will be under your authority," Bao Dai writes: "I was deeply moved by the fact that I had accomplished what my father could not." The truth was that it was only after it had been defeated and forced to surrender that Japan carried out the piece of trickery of "granting independence to Nam Ky" in order to deceive our people. Yet, Bao Dai bragged that this was his major accomplishment.

## 2. Bao Dai's Abdication

According to "The Dragon of Annam," Bao Dai's abdication occurred as follows:

On the night of 22 August, Bao Dai received from Hanoi a telegram from the so called "committee of patriots representing all parties and strata of the people" requesting him to abdicate.

On the morning of the 23rd, Bao Dai sat alone, recalling the story about the fallen beam in which Tu Cung (Bao Dai's mother) predicted that it would be a sign of a turning point in his life and pondering the news reported to him by Ta Quang Buu concerning the Viet Minh and then advised himself: "If I take the history of nations into consideration, there is but one solution, to abdicate. But, to whom do I rely?" Bao Dai then "sent his cousin Vinh Can and

Prime Minister Pham Khac Hoe into the streets to conduct an investigation but both returned empty-handed, returned without one piece of information." Bao Dai was therefore forced to "throw a message into the air as though he were throwing a bottle with a message into the sea": he sent a telegram to the so called "committee of patriots" stating his readiness to step down and requesting that the leaders of the committee go to Hue to carry out the transfer of power.

That night, he prepared a abdication decree. On the morning of 25 August, two representatives of the Viet Minh, Tran Huy Lieu and Cu Huy Can presented to him a document of authorization bearing an illegible signature, which they said was the signature of Ho Chi Minh, the chairman of the liberation committee, who had sent them from Hanoi to accept the reins of power from him. Bao Dai then presented his abdication decree to the two fake emissaries for them to read, at which point they both suggested that he hold an abdication ceremony. Thus, that very evening, Bao Dai donned his imperial robes and, standing at the south gate, read his abdication decree before several thousand persons. And, when he finished, "everyone was in a state of utter shock. Men and women alike felt faint and trembled. The abdication decree had hit them like a thunderbolt"!!!

This is how Bao Dai describes the reaction by the people, but, as for himself, he says: "I was quite calm and had no regrets."

However, this statement by Bao Dai and historic fact are as different as night and day. The truth would require at least 40 pages to describe in the detail necessary. Here, within the framework of one article, I can only present some of the main aspects of the situation in order to help readers follow the true changes in the thinking of Bao Dai.

On 8 August 1945, I was assigned the task by the revolution of encouraging the king to voluntarily abdicate through Ton Quang Phiet, an old friend of mine; he and I had met practically everyday to discuss current events since 9 March 1945, when the Japanese ousted the French.

I received what he had to say with enthusiasm and pride.

However, after three days and nights of reading books to learn from old experiences, of listening to news on the situation and thinking about the attitudes and disposition of Bao Dai, I was still confused and did not know where to begin.

On the morning of Sunday, 12 August, Tran Trong Kim stopped by my house. As he entered the veranda and saw me coming from the house to greet him, he said:

"The situation is very bad, friend! I sent urgent telegrams inviting many persons to the capital to form a new cabinet 7 days ago but no one has replied. Consequently, I just met with the king and asked him to hand down an order instructing the old cabinet to serve as a provisional cabinet with the authority needed to perform all the work of a cabinet. He agreed and told me to tell you to draft the necessary order and send it to him for immediate approval.

At 1500 hours, I sent to Bao Dai for his approval an order making the cabinet that had resigned a provisional cabinet as had been proposed by Tran Trong Kim. On that occasion, I posed to Bao Dai some questions that had gone unanswered:

--We do not understand why no one at all responded to Mr. Kim's invitation to form a new cabinet? Has Mr. Kim reported this to you?

--According to Mr. Kim, all of the gentlemen that he invited are very revolutionary, very leftist. That this fact would not have pleased the Japanese is probably why they did not reply.

But sir! The two gentlemen present in Hue who were asked, Ton Quang Phiet and Bui Cong Trong, also declined.

--Has Mr. Phiet informed you why he declined?

Sir! According to Mr. Phiet, the Japanese are about to be defeated throughout the world! Here, at home, the revolutionary spirit of the masses is growing with each hour and a revolution is sure to break out soon.

Noticing that Bao Dai's expression had changed and that there was a look of concern on his face, I immediately reminded him of the French revolution in 1789 and the tragic fate of Louis XVI and then gently asked: "Perhaps you should not wait until the water is at your feet to jump."

--"Do you think the Japanese army will sit on their hands and allow the people to take over?", Bao Dai said derisively while laughing in a sickly fashion.

Thus, Bao Dai was still relying upon the Japanese army to maintain his throne. The picture of Mr. and Mrs. Yokoyama and Bao Dai meeting day after day appeared before my eyes, reminding me to be on my guard and not be subjective or satisfied with my efforts.

Two days later, on the afternoon of 15 August, news came that Japan had surrendered unconditionally to the allies. Bao Dai was dumbfounded. A discouraged Tran Trong Kim complained about being ill and did not come downstairs to work. Tran Van Chuong and Pham Quynh were in Kien Trung Hall meeting with Bao Dai and Nguyen Di Quang, probably to discuss a way to get back in with their old bosses, the French colonialists.

That evening, I met with the minister of interior, Tran Dinh Nam, and related the events mentioned above to him. He suggested that we should propose to the king that he convene a meeting of the cabinet chaired by Bao Dai himself. At this meeting, Tran Dinh Nam would raise the matter of both the cabinet and the king stepping down in order to make way for the Viet Minh. And, Tran Dinh Nam instructed me to draft a declaration to the nation.

On the morning of 17 August, a meeting of the cabinet chaired by Bao Dai himself was held in the office of the king. Present at the meeting were:

Tran Trong Kim, Tran Van Chuong, Tran Dinh Nam, Ho Ta Khanh, Vu Van Hien, Phan Anh, Trinh Dinh Thao and Nguyen Huu Thi.

When the matter of internal affairs was raised, Tran Dinh Nam said:

"In internal affairs, the matter of greatest importance is for the people to tightly unite around their strongest and most enthusiastic organization, the Viet Minh, so that the colonialists and the imperialists can no longer employ their 'divide and rule' tactic. Thus, I propose that we immediately step down and turn over power to the Viet Minh. In my opinion, the king should step down as well."

This final sentence caused Tran Trong Kim to jump to his feet and harshly denounce Tran Dinh Nam for daring to talk about abdication! An intense debate ensued, at the end of which everyone endorsed the idea of the "ministers of law": to invite the Viet Minh to form a cabinet which possesses all the authority of a cabinet while still retaining the form of the monarchy so that when the allies arrive a legitimate form of government will exist and the allies will have no excuse to help the French return.

Bao Dai liked this solution very much because it enabled him to keep his throne and not do anything. Bao Dai instructed me to immediately draft the necessary order. Ten minutes later, I presented an order inviting the Viet Minh to form an official cabinet and Minister Phan Anh was dispatched by the king to the north to immediately execute this order.

--"Are there any other problems?", Bao Dai asked.

"We suggest"--Tran Dinh Nam said: "That you appeal to all the people to express their determination to maintain the independence of the country. Yesterday, we suggested to the prime minister that he should have a draft of such a declaration prepared..." Bao Dai immediately instructed me to read the draft and, after listening to it, he asked the opinions of those who were attending the meeting; Tran Trong Kim suggested that the section dealing with the spirit of sacrifice of the king be revised because it was too binding and should be more reserved in tone. A debate immediately ensued. Some persons agreed with Tran Trong Kim while others thought that this was the best part of the declaration and had to be preserved in its original form.

As ordered by the king, I read the declaration, emphasizing each sentence and each word:

"In order to strengthen the independence of the country and protect the rights of the nation, I am ready to sacrifice everything. I place the happiness of the Vietnamese above my throne. I would rather be the citizen of an independent country than the king of a country in slavery. I am certain that the entire nation would make the sacrifice that I am making."

When I finished reading, Bao Dai expressed his agreement and instructed me to type a draft for his immediate approval.

Thus, the abdication campaign had taken a very long stride forward and would

surely be successful. I was very happy. However, Bao Dai was still concerned because he did not know who the leader of the Viet Minh was and did not know whether they would maintain the monarchy. On 19 August, he summoned me four times to ask if I had learned who the leader of the Viet Minh was yet.

On the morning of 20 August, after going into the streets and verifying the rumor that an appeal made by the revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc for a general uprising had been posted at many public places, I immediately reported this to Bao Dai and said in addition: judging by his statements, I feel certain that this famous revolutionary is the leader of the Viet Minh. I then told him about a prophecy that had been circulating in Nghe Tinh for a long time, a prophecy that caused many persons to deify the patriot Nguyen Ai Quoc. It was the prophecy that "Dun Son will divide, Bo Dai will meet defeat, the South will give birth to a god."(2) As I related the prophecy, I explained it to the king and, with a confidence that I truly felt at that time, I concluded: thus, the birth of "the god Nguyen Ai Quoc" was predicted by Trang Trinh nearly 400 years ago.

After attentively listening to this "prophecy," Bao Dai reminded me that the prophecy "the Hoanh Son Mountains will remain quiet for generations" was also made by Trang Trinh and asked me if I knew about a strange omen that occurred in Dai Noi 2 months earlier. Before I had a chance to reply, Bao Dai, speaking with a sense of pride, related to me what had occurred:

--"It was National Day (the anniversary of Gia Long's ascension to the throne) and I was walking from Kien Trung through the passage ways to Can Thanh before mounting my sudan chair and being taken to Thai Hoa to participate in the ceremony. As I stepped into the chair, a large beam came crashing to the ground over which I had just stepped, causing a loud noise to echoe through the passage ways. If it had fallen a few seconds earlier, I would be dead. Duc Tu witnessed what happened and predicted with certainty that it was a sign from Buddha telling me that a very large turning point was about to occur in my life but that I would be safe and sound. Do you believe this?"

--"Your excellency, I believe that Duc Tu's prediction was correct but that it must be further clarified: the large beam that fell represented the fall of the French colonialists; from now on, there will be no Europeans standing beside you during the National Day ceremony but you will be safe and sound because you will be protected by the revolution."

--"So, are you advising me to abdicate and turn power over to the Viet Minh?"

--"Your excellency, I am."

--"If the person at the head of the Viet Minh is 'the god Nguyen Ai Quoc,' I am ready to abdicate immediately."

I clasped my hands together, bowed before the king, turned and left.

From that very moment, I focused my efforts on drafting a very good abdication decree.

On 21 and 22 August, with a draft of the abdication decree in my pocket, I went in search of Ton Quang Phiet several times but failed to find him.

On the morning of 23 August, a dejected Bao Dai complained to me about something that he considered very regrettable: during the night of 22 August, several Viet Minh climbed the flagstand, brought down his gold flag and raised their red flag with the gold star. Bao Dai instructed me to find the representative of the Viet Minh in order to arrange to have their red flag with the gold star taken down and the king's gold flag raised. I spent nearly the entire morning looking for Ton Quang Phiet but could not find him.

Near noon, I returned and found Bao Dai sitting at his desk, standing in front of which were two persons: Nguyen Duy Quang, a senior official, and Nguyen Xuan Duong, the chief of the Office of the Ministry of Interior. As soon as he saw me, Bao Dai said: "The prime minister has arrived, show the letter to him!" Nguyen Duy Quang immediately handed to me a typed letter that had just been brought in by Nguyen Xuan Duong. It was an ultimatum from the Viet Minh demanding that the king turn power over to the people and promising that the life and property of the royal family would be protected provided that the following several conditions were met:

1. The king had to turn over to the revolutionary government his Imperial Guard, with all their equipment, weapons and ammunition.
2. The king had to inform Japan that the Imperial Court had handed all power over to the revolutionary government.
3. The king had to send telegrams ordering all province chiefs to turn the government over to the revolution, that is, the Viet Minh.

Finally, the letter gave the king a deadline of 1330 hours on 23 August 1945 by which to reply and appointed Mr. Pham Khac Hoe as the liaison between the king and the revolutionary government. At the bottom of the letter was the seal of the "Nguyen Tri Phuong Provincial Viet Minh Organization" but no signature whatsoever.

When I finished reading the letter, I suggested to Bao Dai that he immediately convene the cabinet to discuss two matters: responding to the ultimatum before 1330 hours and, secondly, contributing opinions to the draft of the abdication decree. Bao Dai agreed. At exactly 1215 hours, a cabinet meeting chaired by the king was convened, which was attended by Tran Trong Kim, Tran Van Chuong, Tran Dinh Nam, Trinh Dinh Thao, Vu Van Hien and Nguyen Huu Thi. Concerning the first matter, everyone agreed to accept the terms of the Viet Minh. Concerning the second matter, everyone endorsed the draft of the abdication decree with one small revision, namely, the deletion of the word "fratricide." I immediately went to the athletic field in order to reply to the Viet Minh before 1330 hours. However, at the field, I found a huge crowd of people standing beneath a forest of banners and red flags with gold stars and was not able to meet with the chairman of the uprising committee (whom I later learned was the poet To Huu) until 1630 hours.

After I informed him of the acceptance of each of the revolution's terms by the king and the entire cabinet and of the abdication decree that had been approved by the entire cabinet, the chairman of the uprising committee said: "So, you can rest assured that we will guarantee the safety of the royal family."

On the morning of 24 August, Bao Dai presented to me a telegram sent from the Bac Bo Revolutionary People's Committee in Hanoi, which he received during the night of 23 August. The telegram read: "A provisional people's revolutionary government has been established. Its president is Ho Chi Minh. You are hereby requested to abdicate immediately so that we can strengthen and unify the independence of the country"(CUU QUOC Newspaper, No 32, 27 August 1945).

Bao Dai was disappointed because this meant that the prophecy that "...the god would be born in the South" was incorrect! But who is Ho Chi Minh? Why has no one in Hue ever heard about him? Are Ho Chi Minh and Nguyen Ai Quoc one and the same person? After saying this to Bao Dai, I quickly went and asked two or three persons and finally was told by Vu Van Hien, who had recently arrived from Hanoi, that Ho Chi Minh was the famous patriotic revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc.

Exceedingly happy, I raced back to report this information to Bao Dai and, when he heard it, he exclaimed in French: "Ca vaut bien le coup alors," that is, "So, he is truly worthy of assuming the reins of power."(3)

I immediately sent a letter to the Bac Bo Revolutionary People's Committee, the complete text of which follows:

"By order of the emperor, I hereby reply to message number 6DT from your committee that: he is content to abdicate immediately and has made the necessary arrangements to do so; however, because he has a responsibility to history and to the entire nation and because he wants your accession to power to influence the interests of the fatherland and wants the new government to officially appear before the nation in a very solemn manner, it is his desire that the president of the Provisional People's Revolutionary Government travel to Thuan Hoa to take over the government from him and that he be informed of the date on which this ceremony will be held."(see the above mentioned issue of CUU QUOC Newspaper).

On the afternoon of 25 August, my office received a telegram from the provisional government stating: "We applaud the spirit of democracy, solidarity and unity of the emperor. We request that the emperor issue his abdication decree in order to satisfy the people. Representatives of the provisional government will soon arrive in Thuan Hoa"(CUU QUOC Newspaper, No 33, 30 August 1945). I immediately had the abdication decree and the imperial declaration to the royal family posted at the Hall of Public Notices.

Shortly after 1000 hours on the morning of the 29th, the delegation from the provisional government arrived from Hanoi and went directly to the Hue athletic field to participate in the meeting being held by the citizens of Hue to greet the delegation. The delegation, which consisted of Mr. Tran Huy

Lieu, its head, and Mr. Nguyen Luong Bang and Mr. Cu Huy Can, its other two members, met with me as the people were parading past the platform.

That evening, I again met with the delegation at Trung Bo Phu to discuss the abdication ceremony.

On the next day, 30 August, at exactly 1600 hours in the afternoon, a formal abdication ceremony was held at the South Gate for some 50,000 people from urban and suburban Hue, all of whom were extremely excited.

At the conclusion of the abdication ceremony and at the suggestion of Bao Dai, Mr. Nguyen Luong Bang pinned an emblem of the red flag with a gold star upon Bao Dai's chest and he then became citizen Vinh Thuy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The facts presented above show that the campaign to achieve Bao Dai's abdication involved a process consisting of many different stages, each of which had its own difficulties and complications.

I accepted and carried out this campaign with boundless enthusiasm. I had pinned my confidence and my ambition at that time on the three decrees as well as the various messages that my office sent to the various places in the name of the king. Therefore, when the Provisional Revolutionary Government asked Bao Dai to serve as its supreme advisor, I was very proud to have made a contribution to Bao Dai receiving this special favor and great honor.

### Part III: "The Supreme Advisor of the Government"

In this section of the book, history has been completely distorted in many ways and at many places. However, I will only relate one matter: Bao Dai's moving to China, which he called "my exile"(mon exile).

According to Bao Dai, this happened as follows: one day, President Ho requested Bao Dai to head a delegation to China. He declined and President Ho decided that the delegation would go without him. However, on the next day, as Bao Dai was leaving his house, he encountered a Chinese general, who suddenly asked him: "Why do you not want to go to China? It is truly regrettable! You should at least take this opportunity to visit our country." This question caused Bao Dai to think that the meeting was not accidental, but was a disguised invitation (invitation deguisee) to him from Chiang Kai-shek. Therefore, one day later, Bao Dai met with President Ho and asked to go to China as a tourist. President Ho happily agreed.

Thus, on 16 March 1946, he travelled by plane from Hanoi to China in a government delegation consisting of six persons, none of whom he knew. However, when the plane arrived in Con Minh, he as well as the entire delegation had to remain there for one week and did not travel to Trung Khanh until the 23rd. During his stay in Trung Khanh, Bao Dai was received and treated in a very respectful and elegant manner by Chiang Kai-shek; meanwhile, no one gave any attention whatsoever to the delegation and, after many days of waiting, the delegation had to ask Bao Dai to intervene with Chiang Kai-shek, as a result of which it was quickly and unofficially given residence in an old

Buddhist temple in the outskirts of the city. Bao Dai also bragged that he had met and spoke at great length with the American General Marshall!!!

On 15 April, Bao Dai and the delegation flew from Trung Khanh to Con Minh in order to return home. This time, they were more fortunate than before. At Con Minh, a plane was waiting to take them to Hanoi. However, as he was about to board the plane, Bao Dai received a short note from President Ho instructing him to remain in China; he would be informed when he was needed.

Even we suppose that the facts presented above are totally correct, they still do not give Bao Dai the permission to say that he was banished to China.

However, the truth was not as Bao Dai describes it. Rather, it was as follows: at approximately 2300 hours on 15 March 1946, an assistant to Bao Dai awoke me and reported: "At 0600 hours in the morning, you are requested to meet with him concerning a matter of great urgency."

On the morning of the 16th, at exactly 0600 hours, I met with Bao Dai; he informed me that he would be going to China in one-half hour and asked me to return to Hue after he had left to arrange for the prince and his family (that is, his wife and children) to travel to Hanoi. This had been agreed to by President Ho.

From Bao Dai's expression and what he said, I felt that he was not telling me everything, so, I bid him farewell and went directly to the Presidential Palace. There, I asked to meet with Uncle Ho, who informed me: his advisor wanted to go to China... The Chinese authorities there had also suggested that he be allowed to go. Moreover, the fact that a delegation would soon be sent to China was also taken into consideration, consequently, the government had agreed to allow the advisor to accompany the delegation to Trung Khanh.

As I was leaving the president's office, I met Advisor Vinh Thuy and three other persons who were on their way to say goodby to President Ho and leave for China. The three persons were Nghiem Ke To (the Nationalist Party), the vice minister of foreign affairs, Nguyen Cong Truyen (Viet Minh) and Ha The Hanh (the representative of the Democratic Party).

After Vinh Thuy and the delegation had left by vehicle for Gia Lam, I returned to the advisor's villa to question the persons there and was informed: "Yesterday evening, Mr. Nghiem Ke To met with Bao Dai for a short while, after which he and Bao Dai went to the home of a Chinese general to meet with many other persons; Bao Dai did not return home until 2300 hours, at which time he dispatched an assistant to invite you to meet with him early this morning." This meeting was corroborated by Nghiem Ke To as follows: "That night, I went to the private villa of the former emperor and then he and I went to the house next door to meet with Vu Hong Khanh and Nguyen Tuong Tam. Everyone presented convincing arguments trying to persuade the former emperor that he should go overseas as an emperor who abdicated the throne and was taking a trip. The former emperor agreed to this immediately"(Nghiem Ke To: "Viet-nam mau lua," Mai Linh Publishing House, Saigon, 1954, p 95).

Thus, Bao Dai's trip to China was a totally voluntary one made as a result of a sinister scheme carried out by Chiang Kai-shek and his lackeys.

As regards the return to Hanoi, which was completely opposite of what Bao Dai relates, Nghiêm Ke To writes: "After one full month, the former emperor was still in Trung Khanh. The Nghiêm Ke To delegation returned home. Concerning this matter, the facts speak for themselves" (ibid., p 97).

Moreover, shortly after 19 December 1946, the nationwide war of resistance broke out and President Ho sent Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach through Hong Kong to meet with Vinh Thuy and invite him to return home to participate in the war of resistance, but he declined.

In November, 1947, I, too, was going to be sent through Hong Kong to bring Vinh Thuy back but, as I was about to leave, we received reliable information that Vinh Thuy had joined his former bosses, consequently, I did not go.

Despite this obvious truth, Bao Dai writes: "President Ho did not want me to return. In fact, my presence became a problem, a disadvantage. The expressions of good feelings toward me and the continued worship of the king by the people were an obstacle, consequently, I had to be removed... This is the only reason why I was exiled in Sam Son and why I have now been banished to China." This is truly a very shameless distortion of the facts.

Here, it is necessary to distinguish between Vinh Thuy, the advisor to the revolutionary government, and Bao Dai, the lackey who obstinately served the colonialists for 20 years in order to live a life of luxury based on the sweat and blood of the people. The people did, at times, display good feelings toward the first person. However, the people had nothing but hatred for the second person. And, were it not for the very human, broad unity policy of President Ho, Bao Dai surely would have been punished for his crimes by the people.

During the first days following his arrival in Hanoi to accept his post as advisor, Vinh Thuy began to realize that he had been raised from the dead and was being guided by President Ho along a path that would lead him back to the fatherland, to the people; therefore, he respected and admired President Ho very much and wrote a letter to his mother in Hue in which he bragged that "Uncle Ho loves me as one of his children." However, because birds of a feather flock together," Vinh Thuy quickly conspired with Chiang Kai-shek's gang and their lackeys to move to China and then, while in China, conspired with the Eurasian Cut-xo [Vietnamese phonetics], an official who specialized in espionage and was a famous hoodlum, to return to serve as the lackey "chief-of-state" of his old bosses, the French colonialists.

#### Part IV: "The Chief-of-State, 1949-1955"

In this section of the book, Bao Dai brags at great length about his "skill" in every area of politics, military affairs, diplomacy and so forth and about the "achievements" he left behind for the people, for the country.

On this blood-stained list of exaggerated achievements, the most glaring achievements were his anti-communist thinking and the murder of communists.

As regards his anti-communist thinking, Bao Dai bragged that he was so anti-communist that he had trained an entire herd of elephants to be anti-communist, typical of whom was the elephant "Buon Com"(as understood in each language, both Vietnamese and French). When the events of 1945 occurred, as Bao Dai relates, the Quang Tri area was occupied by communists but "Buon Com refused to work for them. Then, perhaps because of his political convictions (par conviction politique), Buon Com fled into the jungles, where he remained during the entire time I was absent. However, upon my return in 1949, Buon Com also returned to my area of the jungle. And, Buon Com was not alone. Many other elephants and their mates accompanied him; and these elephants surely did not want to work for the communists either."!!!

As regards the achievements recorded by him in killing communists, Bao Dai takes very much pride in the fact that he was presented by the fascist General Franco with a pistol as a gift "to show his friendship with and gratitude to" Bao Dai for the achievements recorded by him in the fight against communism.

However, Bao Dai is most proud of the two major achievements for which he was praised by the French colonialists: one was his act of causing "Catholics-- who constitute one-fifth the population of the North??--to arm themselves and launch a sacred war," for which he was praised in the French Parliament by the Overseas Territories Subcommittee as the person who performed "the major service in severing Vietnamese Catholics from the Viet Minh." The other was the building "of a national army of Vietnam tasked with fighting the communists," for which he was praised by Marshall Juin, the inspector-general of the French Armed Forces: "Your army fights well; it has taken many casualties because it has not been fully trained in war."

Bragging about the service he performed in building the national army, Bao Dai relates: when General Dalat, the high commissioner and commander-in-chief, was on his way to New York to request aid, Bao Dai sent to him a message that read in part: "The mobilization measures that I have taken have the support of every citizen and we are very proud to be under your supreme command...therefore, the Vietnamese army will bring the full measure of its spirit to fight beside the other forces of the French federation until final victory is won and is ready to gradually replace them, depending upon the equipment that is supplied."

When he put these two major achievements of his on paper, Bao Dai surely did not think that they would be more than enough proof that he will be recorded in history as the greatest war criminal of Vietnam.

#### Part V: "Vietnam Today and Tomorrow"

In this section of the book, after recounting the defeats of the Americans from Diem and Nhu to Thieu and Ky and flattering the Beijing expansionists by slandering the "Viet Minh" as "pursuing a dream of a Dai Viet consisting not only of Laos and Kampuchea, but also of the former Lao provinces now in

Thailand," Bao Dai states that "whereas the French experiment and the American experiment met with defeat, so, too, will Vietnam see the defeat of the communist experiment."

"Will Vietnam then be worthy of enjoying peace again?"

In response to this question he raises, Bao Dai evokes the "inevitable" and "sacred" relationship among God, the king and the people, a relationship that he frequently emphasized in the preceding sections of his book and which he summarizes here as follows: "Old Vietnamese society concentrated the entire structure of society in the person of the king. Through the king, everything is carried out in a majestic fashion all the way down to the village and the hamlet. However, the king only puts a sacred, god-like seal on what is accomplished by means of orders or supervision, not by doing something himself. Vietnam's ideal is that the king is wise enough to rule but does not participate in activities himself. When, as was the case in 1945, this factor is cast aside, everything is seriously threatened. However, when the sacred air of the sky constantly envelops the country and sentiments and thinking have gained the upper position, it is very close to the time to restore the old order under a new form."

Here, Bao Dai wholeheartedly praises the lofty, extraordinary virtue of sacrifice of the Vietnamese. However, he evaluates this extraordinary spirit of sacrifice as a message to all countries, a message "that is no longer an appeal" as it once was, but which "has become a question," that is, a demand that those being questioned answer and act.

The substance of this demand was very clearly stated by Bao Dai in the passage of prose quoted above. Bao Dai demands that all imperialist and colonialist countries, as well as their large and small vassal states throughout the world, put each of their most modern means of murder to use wiping communism from the face of the earth so that he can return to Vietnam and take back the throne of the ideal king--of the reign but not work king--so that he can spend each day playing and gambling, hunting everything from wild animals to decadent young women and only make a public appearance once every 3 years, following a night of abstinence, which will be sufficient to bring happiness back to the Vietnamese!

The image of this king who gambles, is licentious and decadent, who has gone insane, this image that has made me feel deep remorse and pain, separated Bao Dai from the hands of Pham Quynh and put into his mouth words that the imperialists used to describe him as "the number one patriot of the Vietnamese people"(Nghiem Ke To, ibid., p 96) and pushed him to the point where he became the greatest war criminal of Vietnam but still brags about he loves the people.

As a matter of fact, at that time, I could only try to implement as best possible the slogan: "In unity is life, in division is death." And, today, I have made public the events described above for no other purpose than to clarify historic facts and, in this way, make a small contribution to successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

- \* S.M. Bao Dai: "Le Dragon d'Annam," Plon, Paris, 1980.
- 1. A friend of mine who had been imprisoned for revolutionary activities and was, at that time, a professor at a private school in Hue.
- 2. Meaning: when Dun Son Mountain separates (cracks) and Bo Dai Stream loses its roar, Nam Dan will give birth to a god.
- 3. With me, Bao Dai usually spoke in Vietnamese; however, because he was more fluent in French, at those times when he spoke from his heart, he would automatically speak in French.

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END